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PHYSICAL DETERIORATION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

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THE people of Great Britain have recently become concerned as to their physical condition, and have been anxiously speculating as to whether it is improving or deteriorating. The first alarm was given by the Military Authorities. The standard of recruits was falling. An increasing proportion of those offering themselves was rejected: and an increasing proportion of those admitted was falling out in the first years of service. A warning from such a quarter, supported by much expert professional opinion, was not to be neglected. But the alarm was reinforced from an entirely independent quarter. A Royal Commission had been appointed to consider the best method of imparting instruction in physical exercises to the children in Scottish Schools. The Commission discovered at the outset of their inquiry, that no satisfactory evidence was forthcoming as to the physical condition, past or present, of school-children; and they came to the wise conclusion that they could give no advice as to exercises till the condition was ascertained. This they proceeded to do by having the children in certain typical schools examined by medical experts. There is no readier and cheaper method of testing the condition of a people than examining fairly chosen samples of the

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children in the schools. It has been adopted in New York, where a Special Commission has discovered that more than half the children examined required some immediate medical attention if they were ever to become normal valuable citizens, and disclosed a terrible amount of bad sight, bad nutrition and incipient disease. The results of the investigation in the schools of Edinburgh were appalling. The report of Dr. Mackenzie, an official of the Scottish Government, who conducted the inquiry, attracted even the attention of the British House of Commons. A demand was made for a similar test to be applied to schools in London and some of the great cities of England, and was promised by the Government. But in the mean while a Royal Commission to inquire into the alleged degeneracy of the British race was announced, and a Committee of high permanent officials was appointed to prepare the way for the labors of the Commission. After a time, the alarm abated, the idea of a Royal Commission was dropped, and the Committee was directed itself to make the inquiry and furnish the report. In the preparation of evidence for the Committee, the condition of the children was officially examined in various parts of the United Kingdom. In one London school, the official witness gave evidence that ninety per cent. of the scholars were incapable, chiefly from starvation, to attend to their school work; and in schools in the northern cities percentages of from fifty to seventy per cent. were found in a similar condition. Several municipalities have tested their own schools in a like manner. These investigations leave no doubt that in the poorer districts of Great Britain and Ireland, a large proportion of the children—the exact proportion there is no evidence to determine—is growing up so deteriorated by starvation and from insufficient and improper food, that they can never become normal citizens, that they will be the seed-bed of disease and crime, and that as long as they live they must remain a burden on society. The Committee, after a long and thorough investigation, in due time made a unanimous Report. Their members represented the Heads of the Elementary Education Departments in England and Scotland, the Inspector of Physical Training, an Inspector of Recruiting, and the Registrar-General of Births. The Report made in August, 1904, which contained a great number of practical recommendations for reform, was received by those interested in public health with consternation and

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alarm. It was discussed at Town Councils and Education Committees and in public meetings of every sort. But when Parliament met in 1905, it proved that the only people who had paid no attention to it were the Government. All Departments disclaimed having taken any step to consider or carry out its recommendations, and the Board of Education, when hard pressed, appointed another Committee of junior officials to subvert, if they could, some of its conclusions.

The Committee of 1904 found that there was no evidence of deterioration. No records exist in the present and in the past by which the condition of to-day can be compared with that of former times. They recommended the establishment of such records, so that after the lapse of some years we could ascertain whether we were getting better or worse; but of this proposal no notice has been taken by Government. This absence of evidence was a great comfort to the Committee. They rightly believe that it will allay the apprehensions of that large class which is ever ready to believe the best, when not confronted with evidence of the worst. But if the Report furnishes no actual evidence of deterioration, it suggests reasons for taking immediate steps for dealing with some alarming symptoms of decay. There is a decrease in the birth-rate, especially amongst the richer classes. On this subject a Royal Commission in New South Wales reported last year on the decline of the birth-rate in the Australian Colonies and New Zealand, and the reasons for it. Any one who reads this Report will rise from its perusal with the conviction that, in our country, the race is being propagated by the less fit part of it. There is, moreover, no decrease, but even a slight increase, in the frightful rate of infant mortality. There is the fact that a large portion of our people are always living on the brink of destitution, into which "bad times" or inclement weather may at any moment plunge them, often never to emerge again. What the proportion of the population below the poverty line is, cannot be certainly estimated. About one-third seems to be the opinion of the best authorities. But nobody knows whether this proportion is increasing or decreasing, or whether the indigent classes may not grow in number till they upset the existing order of society. There is the miserable condition of the houses in which not only the destitute, but workers above destitution, live. Municipalities are continually clearing out "slums," but they do not know what

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becomes of the inhabitants displaced, and there is good ground for believing that they only migrate to fresh slums elsewhere. There are country districts where no worker can get a decent house to live in. The food of the people, especially of the children, is unwholesome, ill-cooked and served with every discomfort. Life becomes to many a mere struggle for a miserable existence, in which they are well aware that they must finally succumb.

But the Report of the Committee did not end with the finding that there was no evidence of deterioration. It proceeded to enumerate a great number of causes all tending to produce deterioration, to point out palliatives and remedies, to recommend further inquiry in certain directions, and to describe a plan drawn up by the British Association for the Advancement of Science which would have afforded reliable data for taking stock of our population in the time to come. In none of these matters is the Government willing at present to take any concern.

As to the causes of the excessive death-rate of infants, there is no mystery. It is the policy of Poor-Law Guardians to encourage the indigent to let their children struggle into the world without the aid of doctor or qualified midwife. Some are killed: some are injured for life during birth. The demands of our industries almost compel the working-woman to desert her new-born infant for her employment, and thus deprive it of its rightful and natural food. The town with the highest infant death-rate is Preston, a place of women workers, where female weavers earn wages as high as male. The overlooker urges his skilled women hands to remain at the loom till the pangs of labor are upon them, and to return as soon as they can rise from their beds. There is a law, it is true, forbidding the employment of women for a month after child-birth. We recorded our desire to strengthen this law at the Berlin Labor Conference in 1890. It is a dead letter; I never heard of its being enforced. The infants, born, as doctors testify, well nourished, are thus deprived from birth of their mothers' milk, and are left to be brought up by hand. Many die of starvation; many of diseases brought on by improper food; many survive with the seeds of disabling complaints sown in them. Notwithstanding thirty-five years of School Boards, the ignorance of the mass of our young women as to the proper way of rearing infants is profound. The Board of Education is now arranging a new Syllabus to embrace this branch of knowledge.

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But, if it is to do any good, the method of teaching must be revolutionized. It is no use to cram young girls with facts, which are produced in an examination, gain a certificate of proficiency, and are then forgotten. The instruction must be practical. Simple maxims, warranted by public medical authority, the application of which is demonstrated by competent women visiting under public sanction the homes of the new-born infants, are what is wanted. There is the example of Elberfeldt and other German cities to show how such a system can be carried out. But the best system and all the knowledge in the world will not enable infants to be brought up by hand, if pure milk of the cow, ass, or goat, the only substitutes for human milk, cannot be obtained. In many districts this is a sheer impossibility. Both Local Authorities and the Local Government Board have powers by statute to secure that the milk supplied by private enterprise shall be pure: but, as the Committee's Report shows, these are in many cases not put in force. In some towns, the Municipality has begun to provide the milk, which is to the infants a necessity of life, at a price which is within the means of their parents.

At the age of three the children are invited, at the age of five they are compelled, to come into the public schools. From that time, they are daily under the observation of public authority till the age of twelve or thirteen. The most complete information as to their physical condition could easily be obtained and recorded; but the opportunity is at present entirely neglected. How many come to school healthy, well-grown, fit to go through the instruction provided; and how many, starved, stunted, ill-developed, and totally unfit for school work—is unknown. Medical authority declares that most, if not all, the mischief done in infancy by starvation and bad food would be undone, if from three to twelve the children were well fed and properly cared for. But the deterioration is allowed to go on unheeded under the eyes of public authority, although the legal right of the children to be well fed and properly cared for is undoubted. In many schools the condition of ailing children is actually aggravated. Fresh air and fresh water are not provided; sight and hearing are injured by exercises or discipline; lessons, driven into children starving or exhausted by labor, addle their feeble brains. A large portion of the feeble-minded children, culled as unteachable from the London Schools, actually recover their mental

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powers under the influence of a generous diet. The theory of the "educationist" seems to have been that it is the business of the School to attend to the minds rather than the bodies of the scholars, and that School Authorities have little to reproach themselves with if the children die of hunger, provided they have been duly taught the multiplication-table before they expire. On this theory, a great inroad is now being made, and the School Authorities in the future will be held as responsible for the health, as for the intellectual instruction, of the children who come under their charge. Circulars recently issued by the Local Government Board, and the Board of Education, impose on teachers and managers the duty of making immediate application to Boards of Guardians for relief for children attending school in a state of hunger, and impose on the Guardians the duty of promptly feeding them. The principle cannot stop at this application of it: the School Authorities will be constrained to become guardians of the children's rights in general, and to watch over their health and material interests while at school. The next step ought to be a Medical Inspection of the children in all Public Schools. This has been unanimously recommended both by the Scottish Royal Commission and by the English Committee; and although the Board of Education, having previously had the matter for some years under consideration, still hesitates to use its powers, it will have to yield to public opinion. Every child, on entering school, should be medically examined; the ailing ones classified; and their condition recorded. Treatment, medicine, appliances and diet should be prescribed for those that need medical aid; and the School Authorities should see that they obtain that which is ordered for them either from their parents or, if their parents fail, from the public. The cost of medical inspection would not be great. In the town of Barry, in South Wales, the working-men have volunteered to provide at their own cost a trained nurse to visit their schools. It is estimated that each child will come under her observation four times a year.

National health and vigor depend in a very great degree upon the arrangements made for the treatment of the sick. This is just as true of adults as of children. The interests of society to cure the ailments of the latter are, as we have seen, obvious; their right to care and healing is absolute, and the injury to society caused by neglect is serious and prompt. But the case of

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adults is not in principle different. A sick worker is a burden, instead of a benefit, to society at large. The labor by which he adds to the wealth and convenience of the world is suspended; he has to be doctored, physicked and maintained by the labor of others, until such time as he is able again to take his place in the social machine. It is, therefore, the interest of society to shorten as much as possible the period of incapacity of every sick man who is of any use in the world, and to restore him as expeditiously as possible to his normal position. In Great Britain large sums, probably quite enough for the purpose, are furnished by the public, from rates, from voluntary subscriptions and from organized begging. But the application of these funds is in a state of chaos. The various hospitals and institutions overlap and compete with each other. In some quarters there is overprovision: in others, the sick perish unattended to. Hospitals must necessarily be carried on with regard to the requirements of the medical schools to which they are attached. Workhouse infirmaries are managed on the principle of reducing to a minimum the cost to the ratepayers. The healing of the sick can rarely be made the paramount consideration. The treatment of infectious diseases in towns, a branch of sanitary work which is outside the general sphere of hospitals, and is therefore left to public authority, is a fair sample of the confusion which prevails. Two conflicting authorities are involved, the Town Council and the Board of Guardians, each acting independently of the other, with separate rating powers exercised over the same body of ratepayers. The former, experienced in the cost of isolation hospitals, measures of disinfection and the general expense of an epidemic, seek to obtain immediate notice of sickness, and to secure prompt measures of repression. They urge the poor, amongst whom infectious diseases usually take their rise, to send for the doctor on the appearance of the slightest rash on themselves or their children, on the first outbreak of such a complaint as summer diarrhœa. The Board of Guardians, on the other hand, anxious to save the rates and looking no further than the cost of the parish doctor and his drugs, do their best to suppress applications for medical relief, by charging the cost on the applicant, by worrying him for payment, and by summoning him to appear before the Board. They take the greatest credit for the reductions they thus make in the number of such applications. In the result, the poor man is de-

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terred from sending for the doctor, unless the symptoms are alarming; the child with the slight rash or other incipient ailment, but otherwise well, is sent to school; and the result is the outbreak of an epidemic. Lives are lost; injury is done to survivors; and the Council draws upon the ratepayers, whose pockets the Board has saved from a small expenditure, for a much greater sum expended in stamping out the disease.

For the neglect of the physical condition of the poor and their children, the rich indeed pay a terrible penalty. The scourge of consumption causes in the United Kingdom one death in eight, and half the deaths which take place between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five. This disease, we are informed by medical authority, need not exist. It is bred amongst the ill-nourished children of the poor. That is the nursery of its evil growth. In all the schools of our slum districts, young children could be found, if there were medical inspection, in numbers that would astonish the contented optimist, already infected with the malady: unsuspected by parents or teachers, they are already spreading amongst their comrades a disease which is curable even in their own bodies if early detected and early treated. Contagion spreads, seizes upon the children and youth of the rich, and takes its toll of life as above stated. Detection by inspection, and cure at a small expense, of incipient consumption amongst destitute children would save many a young and promising life amongst the rich, and spare many a father and mother the anguish of the loss of the dearest and most valued of their children. It is the same with the infectious diseases of childhood. The breeding-ground of scarlet fever, smallpox, measles and the rest is the bodies of ill-nourished and ill-cared-for children. The schools, as at present organized, are excellently adapted for spreading these complaints. Children driven in wholesale, without medical supervision, must now and then become spreaders of epidemics; the school, from lack of early diagnosis, is not closed till too late; and the rich justly suffer in their children and in their pockets.

The policy of the Poor Law Authorities in doing all they can to discourage application by the poor for medical assistance is radically mistaken. Medical relief does not, according to law, deprive the recipient of his parliamentary or municipal franchise. But by advancing such relief as a loan, by harassing the debtor

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by applications for payment, and by making him lose half his day's work by appearing before the Board, the Guardians deter him from seeking medical advice in his own case, and induce him to surrender the legal rights of his child of which he is very imperfectly informed. Free medical advice and free medicines need not in practice discourage thrift, the god of the Charity Organization Society, nor would it relieve the worker of making provision for sickness. Insurance of support for the family of a worker, when he is disabled by sickness from earning their living, is so desirable in our present society that, in some countries, as in Germany, it is made compulsory by law. In our country, it is, though voluntary, very largely practised, and the maintenance of the family, even if the cost of advice and medicine had not to be taken into account, would furnish a motive quite strong enough to promote forethought.

In the case of the ailments of children, free medical advice, free medicine and appliances, and even free food and maintenance in sickness, stand upon many very strong grounds. There is, first, the economic interest of the community. The disablement of a child deprives the community of his future services, and imposes upon it the cost of his future maintenance. It is a short-sighted economy to deter the poor from seeking skilled aid in childbirth, and in consequence to cause damaged and mutilated children to be brought into the world. It is a short-sighted economy to save the rates by neglecting incipient disease, curable in infancy, incurable in after-years. Next, there is the legal right of the children themselves, which cannot be denied without public injustice. They are entitled to advice, medicine and maintenance in sickness, from their parents first, but, in default of receiving it from their parents, from the community at large. Their rights cannot be disregarded with impunity. Then there is the interest of the rich, whose own children die of the diseases generated amongst the neglected children of the poor. Lastly, there is the interest of the Nation and of the Empire in the health and well-being of its people. That causes of deterioration exist which are preventable and curable can no longer be doubted. The first step to take is to let in the light of medical science upon the woful condition of the children of the poor. We have them assembled in our schools, we have nothing to do but to call in the doctors to inspect them, and many ways will be revealed in which

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deterioration can be checked, and a stronger, healthier people bred up for our National and Imperial requirements.

The learned and educated classes in Great Britain have done all that lies in their power towards the improvement of the health and strength of the people. By the instrumentality of Royal Commissions and Committees, by articles in the press, by speeches at public meetings, they have persistently called attention to some of the causes which are tending to deterioration. They have discussed and suggested constructive legislation and administration which would remove or mitigate those causes, and produce a great and immediate amelioration in the health of the people. It is the governing classes that refuse to stir in the matter. It is partly apathy, because they do not reflect how intimately the health of their class is bound up with the health of the poor; it is partly fear of expense, because they do not consider how the cost of extirpating epidemics, and maintaining the disabled and incurable, swallows up the little economy gained by denying prompt medical relief to the sick poor; it is partly that they are too much absorbed in Party questions, by which the dignities and emoluments of office are lost and gained, to waste their energies in solving problems which are only worthy of the attention of a "Little Englander." There is thus no prospect of any great improvement in the physical condition of the British people, until the interest of the people themselves is aroused. For anything wrong in the laws and administration of the country, they are themselves to blame. They choose the Parliament and indirectly the Government; they choose the Boards of Guardians, and the Municipal Councils which are the Education Authorities. But they allow themselves to be fooled at election times by silly Party cries and by Party contests about matters which affect them little. They are not yet educated enough to discern their own true interests. So long as they can be got to rush to the poll to vote about a war in South Africa, as to which it would be impossible to explain how it benefited the workers of Great Britain, or so long as they can be excited to frenzy on the question whether a child shall or shall not be taught the Church Catechism, it is unlikely that the governing classes will be disposed to meddle with difficult social problems, though they involve the health and well-being of the entire people.

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PRESENT SUPERVISION OF LIFE-INSURANCE COMPANIES, ITS MERITS AND DEFECTS.

BY S. HERBERT WOLFE, F. S. S.

THERE are some who maintain that State supervision of all kinds is merely a form of pernicious paternalism. Be this as it may, we are brought face to face with the fact that the supervision of corporations is becoming more extensive day by day, and the intention of the Government not only to exercise supervisory functions, but to participate actively in the management of semi-public corporations, is well illustrated by the agitation relative to railroad rate making. Since the State has decided that the best interests of its citizens are served by requiring its physicians, its dentists, its veterinarians and even its barbers (New York State now requires "tonsorial artists" to pass examinations before the State Licensing Board) to demonstrate their fitness to practise, there is no real reason why it should not extend its protective system over the life-insurance policies held by its citizens. In fact, there exists a positive reason why it should do so, inasmuch as, life-insurance being based upon mathematical and scientific principles, its essentials are beyond the knowledge of the average man. Were a banking institution to offer a man six per cent. interest upon his daily balances, he would realize from his knowledge of business conditions that such an offer was inconsistent with proper and conservative banking methods; in consequence, he would decide to have nothing to do with an institution that made such an offer. When an insurance agent, however, offers this same man a policy of insurance, he is unable to determine whether the premiums which he is to pay are adequate, or whether the company standing back of the contract is being conducted along safe lines. It is to be regretted that the history of the past twenty-five years in this country indicates that

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mere cheapness has been an unduly exaggerated factor in the mind of the insuring public. The rise of assessment organizations, their wonderful and unprecedented growth and the subsequent failure of many of them owing to the inadequacy of their premiums and their managerial mistakes, all point to the inability of the average citizen to select safe depositories for his insurance premiums.

The State has a vital interest in the successful administration of life-insurance companies. They are encouragers of thrift; upon the death of the wage-earner, the proceeds of the insurance policy are, in many cases, the only barrier between the family and pauperism. For that reason, life-insurance takes its place in the economic structure and occupies a peculiar niche, for it not only encourages habits of economy and compels periodic deposits of money (as contrasted with the voluntary deposits which are made in savings-banks), but it exercises the more important function of distributing the losses of the few among the many. It has been well said that nothing is so uncertain as the date of the death of any particular individual, and nothing is more certain than the number of individuals who will die in any given year. Insurance eliminates the hardship which would be occasioned by the premature death of the individual, in such a way that each of the contributors pays his share of the mathematical probability of his death during the given period. As an illustration of the recognition by the State of this peculiar economic relationship, it may be pointed out that in Europe we find a system of compulsory governmental insurance, covering not only death from all causes, but also disability from accident and disease.

It may not be uninstructive to show by a few concrete illustrations the extent to which life-insurance has entered into the every-day life of the people. The United States leads the world in the size of the companies domiciled within its borders. Taking, for example, the records of three of the largest companies, we find that at the end of the last calendar year they controlled between them $1,242,731,113.35 of assets. Now, bear in mind that an insurance company is not a productive corporation. It receives certain moneys; it invests them; it distributes these funds to the beneficiaries of the policy-holders who die during the existence of their contracts, or to those who, by their survival of a stated period, are entitled to such participation. The

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corporation itself is, therefore, merely a collecting and distributing bureau. It produces nothing. It is the receiver, the custodian, the investor and disburser of the funds which its policy-holders pour into its coffers. These remarks are equally true either for the life-insurance company with a capital stock or for one organized absolutely upon the mutual plan. In the former case, there may be some charter or statutory provision which will permit the stockholders to receive certain dividends; but the distinction must be sharply drawn between the capital stock of a life-insurance company and that of an industrial corporation; for, in the latter, the operations are conducted and extended by means of the contributions of the stockholders, while, in the former, the policy-holders contribute the assets.

It has been pointed out that three of these companies alone owned on December 31, 1904, over one and one-quarter billion dollars in securities of various kinds. This great sum represents the contributions of individuals scattered throughout the civilized world, and numbering at that time 2,158,749. The foregoing facts have apparently been lost sight of in the reports of the internal strife in one of these corporations which have recently been so prominent in the daily press. Eminent counsel representing the various factions among the officers and directors have used all of their talents to secure advantages for their respective clients; but the great army of policy-holders, the real owners of the assets of the institution, are a disorganized body unable to protect their own interests properly. The question naturally arises, therefore: "Does the State, after bringing these corporations into being, assume no responsibility for the safeguarding of the interests of the policy-holders?"

State supervision exists in every country. In Germany, the Government not only exercises powers of visitation and supervision over its insurance corporations, but actually participates in the management of their affairs, specifies the mortality tables to be assumed, the commissions which may be paid, the time when their profits shall be distributed to the policy-holders, etc. In the United States, we attempt to supervise our life-insurance companies by means of Insurance Departments existing in each of the fifty-one States, Territories and Districts. These supervisors, in nearly every case, are appointed by the Governors. In a very few instances (Delaware and Wisconsin, for example),

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they are nominated as are other State officers and elected by direct vote of the people. They have various titles, usually being called "Superintendent of Insurance" or "Insurance Commissioner." In some cases, the Auditor of State is Insurance Commissioner *ex officio*, and in a perfunctory manner combines the supervision of insurance companies with that of State banks, savings-banks, building and loan associations, etc.

It will be seen from this that the supervising officer is part of the political machinery of the State, and the besetting sin of American civic government—the political pull—is responsible for whatever lack of efficiency there may be in this important branch of the State Government. It is an unfortunate fact that this office, which comes into such close and vital relationship with the interests of so large a number of citizens, should be handed out as a reward for political services. It must not be understood that this is a sweeping condemnation of all Insurance Departments or a denunciation of every Insurance Commissioner, for some have appreciated the importance of their duties, have cast off all political yokes and affiliations, and have succeeded in reforming serious evils which existed in the business. It is merely a criticism of a system which takes men with no technical education, places them in charge of one of the most important bureaus, and then, without regard to their honesty, efficiency or record, sweeps them out of office and hands their positions to some new, inexperienced man as a reward for political services rendered at the last election. This condition of affairs is to be found in nearly every State in this country. The most notable exceptions are the New England States, where many of the Insurance Commissioners have been in office for a great number of years, and are thus, by their experience, enabled to serve the interests of their policy-holders with fidelity and ability.

The method of appointing or electing the supervising officer has been touched upon before referring to the statutes themselves, for, no matter how good or how bad the laws are, their beneficial effect is directly proportionate to the efficiency of the supervising officer. Given a State whose statute-books contain a set of ideal insurance laws, but whose supervising officer is weak and inefficient, and it will be found that the results attained, as far as the interests of the policy-holders go, are inferior to those of some neighboring State whose insurance code is less elaborate,

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but where the supervising officer is a man of sterling integrity, imbued with the knowledge of the importance of the duties assigned to him, and determined at all hazards to protect the interests of his policy-holders.

The duties of an Insurance Commissioner are threefold:

First: To see that the insurance laws of his State are obeyed;

Second: To see that the policy-holders receive equitable treatment from the corporations under his supervision;

Third: To see that the corporations receive fair treatment.

The insurance laws of most of the States are in a deplorable condition. They were enacted at a time when life-insurance companies had not attained their present growth, and consequently are inadequate to meet the needs of the present conditions. The chief points of regulation which are aimed at in the insurance laws, may be briefly summarized as follows:

(1) *The establishment of a standard of solvency by which the financial condition of the organization may be tested.* It is apparent that the ascertainment of the outstanding liabilities of an insurance corporation is a much more difficult proposition than is met with in determining the liabilities of any other financial institution. The present value of a life-insurance contract is dependent not only upon the accumulation of interest, but also upon the operation of the law of mortality. A life-insurance company may have more than enough funds on hand to pay all of its accrued death claims, and still be in such a perilously insolvent condition as to render its further operations extremely hazardous. The principles upon which legal reserve insurance companies are founded contemplate the establishment of a sufficient amount in the early years of the history of a life contract to overcome the deficiency in later years caused by the naturally excessive mortality resulting from old age. It is absolutely necessary that a company should have sufficient funds on hand, available for payment in the future, to equal the present value of these contracts. The State, therefore, prescribes a mortality table and a rate of interest which may be applied in calculating the present value of a company's policy contracts. Companies are required to list their policies, send their lists to the Insurance Department of the State in which they are domiciled, and the actuarial department then ascertains the liability on account of such contracts.

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(2) *Prescribing the investments in which a company may invest its funds.* It will be recognized that this is one of the most important features of supervision; for, if the funds of a life-insurance company be invested improperly, the entire structure must fall to the ground. The laws of nearly all the States permit companies to purchase sufficient real estate for the conduct of their own business. This has been, by practice, construed to permit a company to erect a large office-building, but a small part of which is occupied for its own operations. It goes without saying, of course, that companies are permitted to take title to such real estate as they are compelled to acquire under foreclosure, although the laws of many of the States require such property to be sold within a given time, usually five years, unless the necessary certificate is secured from some State officer setting forth that a forced sale would result injuriously to the interests of the policy-holders. A large part of the funds of insurance companies is invested in bond and mortgage on real estate, and the laws usually prescribe that such real property shall be improved, unincumbered and worth fifty per cent. more than the amount loaned thereon. The weak part of this requirement is, that it makes no provision for ascertaining the actual worth of the property. The restriction is, therefore, valueless.

The next broad subdivision of investments is the bonds and stocks. The statutes of a State in which are located large insurance interests provide that, after making the deposit with the Superintendent of Insurance, the residue of the capital and the surplus money and funds "may be invested in, or loaned on the pledge of, any of the securities in which deposits are required to be invested, or in the public stocks and bonds of any one of the United States, or, except as herein provided, in the stocks, bonds or other evidence of indebtedness of any solvent institution incorporated under the laws of the United States, or of any State thereof." Companies are not permitted to loan upon or own the stock of any other insurance corporation transacting the same kind of business. It will be seen at once that the field of investment permitted under this act is so broad as to contain, practically, no restrictions. It is responsible for many of the evils which have crept into the business, and which must, in the very near future, be remedied in order that the institution of life-insurance shall occupy its legitimate field. It was never intended

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that the funds of any corporation of this kind should be used for the purpose of controlling subsidiary corporations, engaged in the transaction of other forms of commercial enterprises. The spectacle of insurance companies owning the controlling interest in the stock of banks, trust companies, trolley roads and industrial corporations of various kinds, is neither a pleasant nor a reassuring one. The evils to which such a condition of affairs can lead have been given great prominence in recent public prints. If the supervision of insurance companies is to be worth anything, it must, in the very near future, devote its serious consideration to the establishment of more rigorous standards, preventing the use (or misuse) of the policy-holders' contributions for personal gain or aggrandizement. In addition to the foregoing, companies are permitted to loan to their policy-holders an amount not exceeding the reserve which is maintained on their policies. This constitutes one of the safest and most desirable investments which a company can make. It is hard to imagine a more thoroughly secured loan than one of this character. Should the policy-holder die, the loan, by its terms, immediately becomes due and payable and is deducted from any proceeds which are turned over to the beneficiary. It is dependent for its security upon the progress of no outside institution. It can never be repudiated, as have been the bonds of some municipalities. If the policy-holder permits his policy to lapse, the company is amply protected; for it has in its possession the man's reserve, which, it will be borne in mind, is the excess payments which he has made to provide for the maintenance of a level premium throughout his contract.

(3) *The ministerial functions.* Under this heading comes the important duty of preparing and distributing the blanks upon which the companies are required to render an annual account of their transactions of the previous calendar year. The development of this blank is a most interesting one. It is not so very long ago that a primitive form then in use gave practically no insight into the true condition of the corporation. The gradual introduction of more scientific methods, and of a more detailed analysis of the various items, has produced a statement form which enables an experienced observer to obtain a fair knowledge, not only of the financial condition of the company, but also of its methods of operation, its expenses of management, its ability

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to keep its business upon its books, etc. It may be interesting to know that the last blank adopted by the National Convention of Insurance Commissioners of 1902, subdivided the income of companies under twenty-seven heads, the disbursements under twenty-nine, the assets under twenty-seven and the liabilities under twenty-four. It will be seen from this that a fairly comprehensive analysis has been attempted.

(4) *The power of visitation.* To require corporations to make periodic reports and to provide for no way of verifying such reports, would manifestly be ridiculous. In consequence, the insurance statutes of nearly every State provide that the head of the Department, or somebody selected by him, is authorized to visit the office of any insurance company transacting business in his State, for the purpose of making an examination of its condition and ascertaining whether the laws of the State have been strictly complied with, and whether its operations give indication of having been conducted along conservative lines. There is no more important duty entrusted to the supervising officer than is this one. He must take all of the necessary precautions to assure himself that the property which the company displays for his inspection is owned absolutely by it; that the lists of policies submitted to him for valuation are complete and in accordance with the terms of the contracts, for to verify the assets without looking after the liabilities would be worse than useless. If he finds that a company fails to pay its death claims promptly, is being conducted for the benefit of its officers and directors rather than its policy-holders, is developing into an institution whose funds are used for the promotion of industrial or financial enterprises rather than in the field of legitimate investments, it becomes his duty to attempt to correct such abnormal conditions. Publicity, it will be found, is the greatest corrective of corporate evils, and every policy-holder is entitled to know every detail which directly affects his contract. No institution conducted along safe and conservative lines need fear the search-light of publicity.

It is greatly to be regretted that, in the past, some unscrupulous Commissioners have used the examining statutes of their State as a means of securing pleasure trips around the country at the expense of the companies examined. At one time, there was an epidemic of this pernicious activity on the part of certain men temporarily clothed with great authority. It is practically un-

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heard-of to-day. The responsibility, however, of determining whether a company is fit to transact business within a State, is one which is placed in the hands of every Commissioner. He is not authorized to delegate this power to the Commissioner of any other State, and it becomes the duty, therefore, of every conscientious State officer to investigate for himself, if he has any reason to believe that the home department is incompetent or unwilling to make the proper investigation.

The above brief résumé of some of the duties of the head of an Insurance Department will serve to indicate the great responsibility attaching to the office. The technical nature of the life-insurance business, its close affiliation with the financial world, and the great number of citizens interested in its successful administration, are all arguments for the elimination of the political nature and character of the office. The judicial frame of mind, so necessary to the proper contemplation of the problems arising in connection with supervision, is only acquired after years of practice and experience. To expect a man trained in other walks of life to develop suddenly into a competent supervisor, is to ask the impossible. Life-insurance is a huge structure and its erection must be watched by competent eyes. If the foundation be placed upon shifting sands, if the materials entering into the building are of inferior quality, or if the work of upbuilding is conducted improperly, the structure will fall to the ground, bringing desolation and ruin to great numbers. It is to the credit of State supervision that such good work has been accomplished with such poor tools. With the full realization upon the part of the people of the cost to them of the failure of a weak and pliable Commissioner to do his duty, may we not hope that, before another decade passes, we shall see the office stripped of its political nature and its administration in the hands of men equipped by education and training to protect the interests of the millions of policy-holders throughout the world? When that time comes, the funds of a life-insurance company will never be regarded as a means whereby one group of financiers may profit at the cost of another group. The title to the funds will rest securely in the policy-holders, and the only thing needed to effect this transformation is the realization upon the part of the policy-holder of the necessity for it. S. HERBERT WOLFE.

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THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE NEGRO.

BY BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, PRINCIPAL OF THE TUSKEGEE NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTE.

In everything that I have been able to read about the religious life of the Negro, it has seemed to me that writers have been too much disposed to treat of it as something fixed and unchanging. They have not sufficiently emphasized the fact that the Negro people, in respect to their religious life, have been, almost since they landed in America, in a process of change and growth.

The Negro came to America with the pagan idea of his African ancestors; he acquired under slavery a number of Christian ideas, and at the present time he is slowly learning what those ideas mean in practical life. He is learning, not merely what Christians believe, but what they must do to be Christians.

The religious ideas which the Negroes brought with them to America from Africa were the fragments of a system of thought and custom, which, in its general features, is common to most barbarous people. What we call "fetichism" is, I suppose, merely the childish way of looking at and explaining the world, which did not, in the case of the people of West Africa, preclude a belief in the one true God, although He was regarded by them as far away and not interested in the little affairs of men.

But the peculiarity of their primitive religion, as I have learned from a very interesting book written by one who has been many years a missionary in Africa, consists in this, that it sought for its adherents a purely "physical salvation."

In the religion of the native African there was, generally speaking, no place of future reward or punishment, no heaven and no hell, as we are accustomed to conceive them. For this reason, the Negro had little sense of sin. He was not tortured by doubts and fears, which are so common and, we sometimes feel,

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so necessary a part of the religious experiences of Christians. The evils he knew were present and physical.

During the period of servitude in the New World, the Negro race did not wholly forget the traditions and habits of thought that it brought from Africa. But it added to its ancestral stock certain new ideas.

Slavery, with all its disadvantages, gave the Negro race, by way of recompense, one great consolation, namely, the Christian religion and the hope and belief in a future life. The slave, to whom on this side of the grave the door of hope seemed closed, learned from Christianity to lift his face from earth to heaven, and that made his burden lighter. In the end, the hope and aspiration of the race in slavery fixed themselves on the vision of the resurrection, with its "long white robes and golden slippers."

This hope and this aspiration, which are the theme of so many of the old Negro hymns, found expression in the one institution that slavery permitted to the Negro people—the Negro Church. It was natural and inevitable that the Negro Church, coming into existence as it did under slavery, should permit the religious life of the Negro to express itself in ways almost wholly detached from morality. There was little in slavery to encourage the sense of personal responsibility.

The attitude of some Negro communities in this respect is very clearly illustrated in the story of the slave who was a "professor" of religion, in the current phrase of the time, but made his master so much trouble by his persistence in certain immoral practices that it was finally necessary to call in a clergyman to try to reform him. The clergyman made the attempt, and sought to bring the terrors of the law to bear upon the slave's conscience.

"Look yeah, Massa," said the culprit, "don't de Scripture say, Dem who b'lieves an' is baptize' shall be saved?"

"Certainly," was the reply, and the clergyman went on to explain the passage to him, but the slave interrupted him again.

"Jus' you tell me now, Massa, don't de good book say dese words: 'Dem as b'lieve and is baptize' shall be saved?'"

"Yes, but—"

"Dat's all I want to know, sar. Now, wat's de use of talkin' to me. You ain't ago'n to make me believe wat de blessed Lord say ain't so, not if you tries forever."

This illustrates one of the difficulties that we have to contend

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with to-day. In our Tuskegee Negro Conference, we have constantly to insist that the people draw moral distinctions within the limits of their own communities, that they get rid of immoral ministers and school-teachers, and refuse to associate with people whom they know to be guilty of immoral practices.

It has been said that the trouble with the Negro Church is that it is too emotional. It seems to me that what the Negro Church needs is a more definite connection with the social and moral life of the Negro people. Could this connection be effected in a large degree, it would give to the movement for the upbuilding of the race the force and inspiration of a religious motive. It would give to the Negro religion more of that missionary spirit, the spirit of service, that it needs to purge it of some of the worst elements that still cling to it.

The struggle to attain a higher level of living, to get land, to build a home, to give their children an education, just because it demands more earnestness and steadfastness of purpose, gives a steadiness and a moral significance to the religious life, which is the thing the Negro people need at present.

A large element of the Negro Church must be recalled from its apocalyptic vision back to the earth; the members of the Negro race must be taught that mere religious emotion that is guided by no definite idea and is devoted to no purpose is vain.

It is encouraging to notice that the leaders of the different denominations of the Negro Church are beginning to recognize the force of the criticism made against it, and that, under their leadership, conditions are changing. In one of these denominations, the A. M. E. Zion Church alone, $2,000,000 was raised, from 1900 to 1904, for the general educational, moral and material improvement of the race. Of this sum, $1,000,000 was contributed for educational purposes alone. The A. M. E. Church and the Baptists did proportionally as well.

The mere fact that this amount of money has been raised for general educational purposes, in addition to the sum expended in each local community for teachers, for building schoolhouses and supplementing the State appropriations for schools, shows that the colored people have spent less money in saloons and dispensaries; that less has been squandered on toys and gimcracks that are of no use. It shows that there has been more saving, more thought for the future, more appreciation of the real value of life.

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In this connection, it is well to have in mind that the industrial schools have performed a great and useful service, in so far as they have impressed upon the young men who go out from these schools as preachers the importance of learning a trade, something of agriculture, so that they can give the members of their congregations an example of industrial thrift.

At Tuskegee Institute, we insist upon the importance of service. Every student in this department is expected to do, in connection with his other work either as a teacher or preacher, some part of the social and religious work that is carried on under the direction of the Bible Training School in the surrounding country. We are seeking to imbue these young men who are going forth as leaders of their people with the feeling that the great task of uplifting the race, though it may be for others merely a work of humanity, for them, and every other member of the Negro race, is a work of religion.

In this great modern world, where every individual has so many interests and life is so complicated, there is a tendency to let religion and life drift apart. I meet men every day who, honest and upright though they be, have lost in their daily lives this connection with religion, and are striving vainly to regain it. There is no one great dominating motive in their lives which enters into every task and gives it significance and zest.

It is one of the compensations which hardships bring, that the race problem is a thing so real and so present to the Negro people that it enters, as a motive, into everything they do. It is this that makes it possible for them to realize that the acts of every individual have an importance far beyond the measure in which they make or mar his or her personal fortunes.

So soon as a man, white or black, really learns to comprehend that fact, he will cease to whine and complain, and he will be content to do his best, humble though it be, to improve his own condition, and to help his less fortunate fellows.

Slowly but surely, and in ever larger numbers, the members of my race are learning that lesson; they are realizing that God has assigned to their race a man's part in the task of civilization; they are learning to understand their duty, and to face uncomplainingly and with confidence the destiny that awaits them.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF PUBLICITY IN EDUCATIONAL AND CHARITABLE WORK.

BY WILLIAM H. ALLEN, GENERAL AGENT OF THE NEW YORK ASSOCIATION FOR IMPROVING THE CONDITION OF THE POOR.

DURING the second week in July will be held the annual sessions of the National Education Association and the National Conference of Charities and Correction. Newspaper head-lines will probably announce that ten thousand pedagogues are meeting on the Atlantic seaboard at Asbury Park, and five hundred philanthropists at Portland on the Pacific. Press agents will telegraph broadcast each innovation suggested, each reactionary criticism, each striking phrase or fact; educational and fireside journals will summarize the serious thought; while syndicated witticisms and moral effusions will be liberally quoted in the patent inside that supplements the personal notes and village advertising of the rural weekly. In these ways the national convention is disseminating standards of thought and of effort that enable the smallest hamlet to benefit from universal experience. Moreover, the individual delegate returns to his little corner, inspired and encouraged by the consciousness that in him speak not merely his own ideals, but the ideals of thousands of his colleagues. He moves not of his own momentum only, but is impelled by that of all educators, all charitable workers. He expects the collective layman to "incorporate" or "promote" the new inspiration and stamp with approval the new standard. Probation saves jail expenses and redeems citizens in New Jersey; it should be tried in Georgia. Volunteer boards have successfully managed State institutions in the East; they should be adopted by the West. Manual training is admitted by all to develop moral and economic qualities; therefore introduce manual training in the schools of Des Moines.

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So obviously does the extension of the improved standard depend upon the layman that it is usually regarded as unnecessary to discuss either him or his rights. We find, accordingly, a marked tendency to assume that the problem before an educational or philanthropic Convention primarily concerns two parties only, the beneficiary, on the one hand, and the teacher or charity worker, on the other. The layman is forgotten, and little or no attention is given to the technical means of obtaining and holding his intelligent interest in schools and charities, or to the obligation of informing him as to the returns obtained from his outlay of interest and means.

The need for a systematic method of raising funds receives even less attention from these conferences. Most of us are still reluctant to admit that altruistic motives have laws which can be analyzed, understood and cultivated, as well as those of pedagogics and criminology. For want of proper analysis, we have been assuming that the springs of benevolence work according to caprice, not law; that, consequently, the secret of successful appealing should never be imparted to possible competitors. Whatever, therefore, may be the valuable experience that we travel across the continent to exchange—so far as it relates to the motherless infant, the crippled or idiotic child, the consumptive adult or criminal—we withhold our confidences from that point where our experience begins to relate to the men and women whose beneficence makes possible our philanthropic work. As for educators, they have still greater temptation than social workers to overlook the motives that determine the scope of their opportunity and measure the result of their endeavor. Legally recognized as part of the instrumentality essential to the maintenance of the minimum standard of living in an American community, they are prone to consider that they are entitled to the unqualified moral and financial support of every citizen. Not unnaturally, the lay proprietor, working as he does under legal and moral compulsion, comes to be regarded by the educator as an impersonal source of revenue.

This twofold neglect of the vast majority, who are neither beneficiaries nor agents of benefaction, is due in large measure to the fact that standards of thought and of effort have been much better worked out than standards of achievement. The public can easily learn how and when cooking should be taught,

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how drunkards should be cared for and wayward girls reformed. But it is almost impossible to ascertain whether our teachers and social workers are obtaining results proportionate to outlay; whether our schools give the sought-for power; whether reformatories reform and hospitals cure; whether relief agencies relieve or pauperize. Yet these are questions which the general public is constantly asking, the answers being not seldom to the discredit of educational and philanthropic activities.

How little the layman participates in momentous decisions regarding educational policies may be illustrated by recent events in the public schools of Greater New York. With the gravest, most difficult, problem to solve and the greatest opportunity of any single city in the world, New York spends for its schools nearly $25,000,000 annually, each resident paying tribute in one form or another. The safety of property, cleanliness of streets, watchfulness of police, the quality of milk or of press editorial purchasable, the stenographer's intelligence, the health rate, tax rate, interest rate—the composite standard of living—all are influenced for better or for worse by the character of instruction and discipline in the public schools. In view of this relation between layman and school, a wide-awake, intelligent lay interest in school problems and policies seems not only desirable but indispensable. There is every reason why the financial backer and silent partner, who has delegated his responsibility to teachers and directors, should be encouraged to know the essential facts regarding school expenses and educational returns. In fairness to him, his demand for retrenchment or open charges of gross extravagance, whatever their source, require one of two courses—either proof that retrenchment is nowhere possible without serious damage to the enterprise, or else retrenchment at the point where least damage will result. Yet when, in 1903, the Board of Estimate and Apportionment reduced by about $800,000 the total appropriation requested for schools, the educational authorities were startled and injured. The financial representatives of the public were rebuked, the public itself was ignored. No proof was advanced that retrenchment was impossible without serious damage to the enterprise. The retrenchment finally proposed was not chosen because least harmful. On the contrary, it was avowedly effected at those points where untold injury must result, namely, Vacation Schools, Recreation Centres, Popular Lectures

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and Evening Schools. The public was told by its fiscal authorities that "easy come, easy go" had been the rule in school finance; that there were flagrant extravagances that could be corrected; and that curriculum and equipment disbursements were not being controlled by proper standards of efficiency and economy. These charges were regarded by the public's chief educator, who happens now to be President of the National Education Association, as personal slurs upon himself, as covert attacks upon the foundation of American civilization, and as a menace to the principle of universal schooling. The wrath of the public, rather than its intelligence, was invoked; instead of facts, it was given an ultimatum, *plus* renewed assurance of motives concerned alone with the public good.

An independent inquiry on the part of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor revealed the fact that the members of the Board of Education did about the best they could under the circumstances. If they had failed to enlighten the public as to the points at issue, they could plead in defence that they simply did not have the information to impart. There was no business standard of efficiency either for teaching or for disbursing agent, although an attempt was being made to "standardize" the Department of Supplies. Comparative statements and proper classification, even of gross items, were lacking. Although Recreation Centres were closing for lack of funds, the Superintendent proposed to furnish meals to breakfastless children, basing his estimate of the number of such children not upon school facts, but upon an outsider's guess. "Discoveries" were announced from time to time—now a discrepancy of thousands in the number of sittings available in the schools, or overestimate of hundreds in the number of teachers needed; again, that from twenty-eight to fifty per cent. of school-children were from two to six years out of place, lagging behind to block the lower grades and aggravating the part-time evil. The latest available report showed that the *per capita* disbursements for supplies differed in schools of the same size and type by twenty or fifty or over one hundred per cent. The number of teachers was increased in schools that showed a decrease in the number of pupils. A school of thirty-five rooms burned twice as much coal as a sixty-nine room school, having one thousand more pupils. Trustworthy, classified data could nowhere be obtained, either by a

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member of the Board of Education, a legislator, an editor or a lay student desirous of promoting school interests. When asked how much special subjects cost per pupil, as compared with the three R's, the Department's auditor found it necessary to set at work a large office staff to compile information that the system of a business house would furnish automatically by months if not by weeks. For nearly two years, the financial backer and silent partner has read weekly, almost daily, charges of extravagance and "faddism." These charges alternate with claims or admissions on the part of the school authorities that the curriculum is being simplified, or perhaps that economies aggregating here $10,000, there $300,000, had been effected or were contemplated. Yet, there is no provision for placing before the public the facts upon which to base independent judgment and loyal support.

The New York school situation differs from that of the average small city only in this respect, that the former is expressed in terms of thousands and millions, whereas the small city speaks of pupils by hundreds and of dollars by thousands. Moreover, the weaknesses enumerated above are not confined to schools, but are typical of philanthropical effort and civil government throughout the country, bearing eloquent testimony to the proposition that an uninformed honest executive may be even more obstructive and ineffective than a vicious man subject to intelligent criticism. Information must precede reformation. To prevent "graft" and maladministration, light must be available, not once a year or once a month, but constantly; it should be furnished not by catastrophes, embezzlements or deficits, but by reports daily, weekly, monthly, annual. The mere occasional uncovering of gruesome sores, such as have been recently revealed in the body politic in Rhode Island, Connecticut and Missouri, brings forth little unless it leads to a mechanism that exposes automatically both dishonesty and incompetence. Whatever other remedies are needed, it is quite certain that politics must adopt, as has business enterprise, methods of control that make inefficiency too dangerous of practice because too easy of detection. Such control will be infinitely easier to effect after philanthropy and education have abandoned their present haphazard methods, which are incompatible with the business standards of our time, suggesting rather the days when nature's prodigality of oil or gold caused man to scorn accounts and economies.

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The New York Board of Education seems about to set an example to the world of educators. It has a committee of five, of which its president is a member, to consider the remedies proposed, namely: (1) Establish standards of achievement for both the educational and business side of school administration; (2) publish reports with such promptness and of such a character that they will educate the layman in his duties as proprietor and beneficiary of the school system. The Committee is headed by an expert accountant, who, as Chairman of the Department of Supplies, has labored for two years to establish units of measurement and methods of control, such as railroads and manufactures find indispensable. Associated with him are three lawyers, and a banker and a broker, all disciplined in the methods of large enterprise, and all determined to give the schools the same quality of service that would be given to any other large corporation. The specialist whom they have asked to survey the system from beginning to end is an authority on collecting, classifying and presenting business experience,—the same whose report formed the basis of the remedies mentioned above, and whose services have since been enlisted by the Mayor's Finance Commission, as Chairman of its sub-committee on accounting.

The movement thus begun in New York differs from others, attempted in various American cities from time to time, in that its avowed purpose is to increase service rendered, rather than to lower tax rates or purify politics. New York wants more money for schools and better schools, more money for parks, for tenement and sanitary inspection; its Board of Education and its Mayor wish to see whether administrative facts, promptly and intelligibly presented, will not result in abolishing the present method of appropriating public funds according to some sliding scale of guesses, rather than needs measured and results obtained. It is worth while for the National Convention of Educators at Asbury Park to study this proposed method of strengthening the schools' hold upon lay interest and public purse. It behooves them, furthermore, one and all, to examine the methods now employed in securing and disbursing appropriations for their own schools, in order to see to what extent these methods are strengthening the forces of corruption which thrive only where laymen are not properly informed.

The proposition is simple. Certainly no one can fail to see

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the vast significance of facts giving timely notice alike to teacher and to public regarding such matters as these: the proportion of backward school-children needing special instruction; the cost of teaching German or manual training as compared with that of teaching English; the percentage of children who fail of promotion; the percentage that take the entire grammar-school course; the fair cost and actual cost per pupil for supplies and for teaching; the fair cost and actual cost for coal per cubic foot of space heated; the proportion of public funds and school time that may be properly devoted to courses which only the small minority can hope to take; the proportion of pupils benefiting from so-called special features, that, in the absence of definite results obtained, are rightly termed "fads"; whether pupils learn to take business dictation in courses of stenography; what percentage of graduates should know how to spell ordinary words and write a legible hand; the equipment provided for instruction, and just where that equipment is inadequate. A proper method of collecting, classifying and recording facts such as these, comparing department with department, school with school, month with month, year with year, will continually and instantly disclose the weakest spots in the system we wish to make strong, the least profitable of the expenditures we aim to render remunerative, and the first signs of the waste and duplication each educator is pledged to prevent.

The field of charities and correction suffers from the same want of business method in measuring result obtained with effort and money expended. In the past we have made a fetich of volunteer management, resting secure in the knowledge that those to whom hospitals, relief bureaus and rescue missions were intrusted had no selfish motives to gratify. "*Possunt, quia posse videntur*" explained the outcome of the Trojan boat-race; but to-day, apart from social, educational and religious work, the point of view thus expressed is abandoned for the business motto, "*They were able, because they were prepared.*" Yet the man of affairs continues to go from an office where business facts are classified, where the experience of his profession is constantly available for the day's work, to his post as director of hospital or charitable society, where experience has never been classified and where methods of intelligent control are lacking.

In my hand I hold the latest published reports of three hos-

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pitals, whose annual operating expenses aggregate $400,000. Two of these give complete medical statistics, telling all about Fasciotomies, Epididymites, Carcinoma ventriculi, etc.; the third, all about the nationalities and trades of patients, and much about provisions. But not one tells how much it costs to support a patient one day or a week; what endowment is required to pay the entire expense of supporting a bed in perpetuity; what proportion of the cost of maintaining free beds is borne by public subsidy; what percentage of expense is for salaries or provisions; the price paid per ton for coal, or per pound for beef; what fraction of the total day's treatment given is wholly free; how much certain or pledged income the hospital has. Not one summarizes the facts published, so as to show by comparative tables and percentages the direction in which it is going, with respect to classes of patient or of expense. Yet these reports are vastly superior to the average hospital report, and the hospitals for which they plead are among the foremost of their kind in the world. Each reports current expenses to be in excess of current income by many thousand dollars. Each consumes endowment and legacy, whereas it is supposed to use only the interest on these funds. In this respect, too, as well as in their reporting, they are typical of private hospitals throughout the world. London's hospitals are in desperate straits, the King's personal interest being required to rally the public to their support, and the hospital authorities to the systematic study of resources and the practice of economies. In New York, practically all of the large hospitals, depending in any measure on private subscription, announce large deficits, many wards being closed for lack of funds. Yet there is no good work which is believed in so generally as that of the hospital. This paradox of universal interest and universal deficit is due undoubtedly to the fact that business standards have not hitherto been applied either to the raising or spending of hospital funds. In other words, the silent partner and financial backer has not been sufficiently considered, either by hospital executives or by the volunteer boards which in theory represent lay interest.

Similar significant illustrations might be drawn from different types of charitable organization. A classical example is furnished by the Lyman School for Boys, of which the whole country has been proud for more than a generation. Year after year its di-

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rectors, all praiseworthy altruists of the "Massachusetts type," have exploited in general terms the wonderful character-building influence of this school upon its boy charges. A chart was prepared for the Chicago Exposition to teach the inquiring student of reformatory methods what a great work the Lyman School had done. But, to the chagrin of all, the chart when completed showed that a distressingly large percentage of the boys were still in durance vile at various penal institutions, while a painfully small percentage could be referred to with pride. The directors believed their chart and obeyed it. It is now known, not merely for exposition purposes, but for every-day uses, exactly where the boys are and what they need, after as well as before they leave the institution.

In thousands of philanthropic and relief societies and in hundreds of public institutions managed by volunteers, a graphic comparison of results obtained with time and means expended would reveal waste, extravagance, perverted use of talents and means, and neglect of opportunity offered, such as would cause the cry of scandal if discovered in institutions managed by political or civil-service appointees. But, Polonius-like, we permit the same cloud to change from camel to weasel and to disappear, according to the person offending against the laws of economy and efficiency. Failure to achieve proper results, however, punishes the public, irrespective of the relative proportion of honesty and capacity possessed by its representatives. Disregard of standards that secure proper proportions between outlay and return means social waste in charitable, religious and educational work, as well as in commerce and politics.

A political humorist maintains that "we'll never abolish hanging so long as people likes it so much." It is also safe to say that we shall have inefficiency and dishonesty in public life so long as philanthropist and educator cling, in their particular fields, to those methods of withholding facts and ignoring the public that, in other fields, mislead and confuse honest intention, while protecting vicious purpose and conduct.

WILLIAM H. ALLEN.

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AUTOCRACY AND WAR.

BY JOSEPH CONRAD.

"Sine ira et studio."

From the firing of the first shot on the banks of the Sha-ho, the fate of *the* great battle of this war hung in the balance for more than a fortnight. The famous three-day battles, for which history has reserved the recognition of special pages, sink into insignificance before the struggles in Manchuria engaging half a million of men on fronts of sixty miles, struggles lasting for weeks, flaming up fiercely and dying away from sheer exhaustion, to flame up again in a desperate persistence, and end—as we have seen them end more than once—not from one side or the other obtaining a decisive advantage, but through the mortal weariness of the combatants.

We have seen these things, though we have seen them only in the cold, silent, colorless print of books and newspapers. In stigmatizing the printed word as cold, silent and colorless, I have no intention of putting a slight upon the fidelity and the talents of men who have provided us with words to read about the battles in Manchuria. I only wished to suggest that, from the nature of things, the war in the Far East has been made known to us, so far, in a pale and gray reflection of its terrible and monotonous phases of pain, death, sickness—a reflection seen in the perspective of thousands of miles, in the dim atmosphere of official reticence, through the veil of inadequate words. Inadequate, I say, because what had to be reproduced is beyond the common experience of war; and imagination, luckily for our peace of mind, has remained a slumbering faculty, notwithstanding the din of humanitarian talk and the real progress of humanitarian ideas. Direct vision of the fact, or the stimulus of a great art, can alone make it turn and open its eyes heavy with blessed sleep; and even

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there, as against the testimony of the senses and the stirring up of emotion, that saving callousness which reconciles us to the conditions of our existence will assert itself under the guise of assent to fatal necessity or in the enthusiasm of a purely æsthetic admiration of the rendering. In this age of knowledge, our sympathetic imagination, to which alone we can look for the ultimate triumph of Concord and Justice, remains strangely impervious to information, however correctly and even picturesquely conveyed. As to the austere eloquence of a serried array of figures, it has all the futility of precision without force. It is the exploded superstition of enthusiastic statisticians. An overworked horse falling before our windows, a man writhing under a cart-wheel in the street, awaken more genuine emotion, more horror, pity and indignation than the stream of reports, appalling in their monotony, of tens of thousands of decaying bodies tainting the air of the Manchurian plains, of other tens of thousands of maimed bodies groaning in ditches, crawling on the frozen ground, filling the field hospitals; of the hundreds of thousands of survivors no less pathetic, and even more tragic in being left alive by fate to the pitiable exhaustion of their pitiful toil.

An early Victorian, or perhaps a pre-Victorian, sentimentalist, looking out of an up-stairs window I believe at a street—perhaps Fleet Street itself—full of people, is reported by an admiring friend to have wept for joy at seeing so much life. These Arcadian tears, this facile emotion worthy of the Golden Age, come to us from the past, with solemn approval, after the close of the Napoleonic wars and before the series of sanguinary surprises held in reserve by the nineteenth century for our hopeful grandfathers. We may well envy them their optimism, of which this anecdote of an amiable wit and sentimentalist presents an extreme instance, but still a true instance and worthy of regard in the spontaneous testimony to that trust in the life of the Earth, triumphant at last in the felicity of her children. Moreover, the psychology of individuals, even in the most extreme instances, reflects the general effect of the fears and hopes of the time. Wept for joy! I should think that now, after eighty years, the emotion would be of a sterner sort. One could not imagine anybody shedding tears of joy at the sight of much life in a street, unless perhaps he were an enthusiastic officer of a general staff or a popular politician, with his career yet to make.

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And hardly even that. In the case of the first, tears would be unprofessional, and a stern repression of all signs of joy at so much food for powder more in accord with the rules of prudence: the joy of the second would be checked before it found issue in weeping, by anxious doubts as to the soundness of the electors' views upon the question of the hour and the fear of missing the consensus of their votes.

No! It seems that such a tender joy would be misplaced now as much as ever during the last hundred years, to go no further back. The end of the eighteenth century was, too, a time of optimism and of desperate mediocrity, in which the French Revolution exploded like a bombshell. In its lurid blaze the insufficiency of Europe, the inferiority of minds, of military and administrative systems stood exposed with pitiless vividness. And there is but little courage in saying at this time of the day that the glorified French Revolution itself, except for its destructive force, was in essentials a mediocre phenomenon. The parentage of that great social and political upheaval was intellectual, the idea was elevated: but it is the bitter fate of the idea to lose its royal form and power, to lose its "virtue," the moment it descends from its solitary throne to work its will amongst the people. It is a king whose destiny is never to know the obedience of his subjects, except at the cost of degradation. The degradation of the ideas of freedom and justice at the root of the French Revolution is made manifest in the person of its heir; a personality without law or faith, whom it has been the fashion to represent as an eagle, but who was in truth much more like a sort of vulture preying upon the body of a Europe which did indeed for some dozen of years resemble very much a corpse. The subtle and manifold influence for evil of the Napoleonic episode, as a school of violence, as a sower of national hatreds, as the direct provoker of obscurantism and reaction, of political tyranny and injustice, cannot well be exaggerated.

The nineteenth century began with wars which were the issue of a corrupted revolution. It may be said that the twentieth begins with a war which is like the explosive ferment of a moral grave, whence may yet emerge a new political organism to take the place of a gigantic and dreaded phantom. For a hundred years, the ghost of Russian might, overshadowing with its fantastic bulk the councils of central and western Europe, sat upon the

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gravestone of Autocracy, cutting off from air, from light, from all knowledge of themselves and of the world, the buried millions of Russian people. Not the most determined cockney sentimentalist could have had the heart to weep for joy at the thought of its teeming numbers! And yet they were living—they are alive yet, since, through the mist of print, we have seen their blood freezing crimson upon the snow of the squares and streets of St. Petersburg; since their generations born in the grave are yet alive enough to fill the ditches and cover the fields of Manchuria with their torn limbs, their maimed trunks, to send up from the frozen ground of battle-fields a chorus of groans calling for vengeance from heaven, to kill and retreat or kill and advance without intermission or rest, for twenty hours, for fifty hours, for whole days, for whole weeks of fatigue, hunger, cold and murder, till their ghastly labor worthy of a place amongst the punishments of Dante's Inferno, passing through the stages of courage, of fury, of hopelessness, sinks into crazy despair.

It seems that, in both armies, many men are driven beyond the bounds of sanity by the stress of moral and physical misery. Great numbers of soldiers and regimental officers go mad, as if by way of protest against the peculiar sanity of a state of war—most amongst the Russians, of course. The Japanese have in their favor the tonic effect of success; and the innate gentleness of their character stands them in good stead. But the Japanese Grand Army has yet another advantage in this nerve-destroying contest, which, for endless, arduous toil of killing, surpasses all the wars of history. It has a base for its operations; a base of a nature beyond the concern of the many vain books written upon the so-called art of war. The Japanese army has for base a reasoned conviction; it has behind it the profound belief in the right of a logical necessity to be appeased at the cost of so much blood and treasure. And in that belief, whether well or ill founded, that army stands on the high ground of conspicuous assent, shouldering deliberately the burden of a long-tried faithfulness. The other people (since each people is an army nowadays), torn out from a miserable quietude resembling death itself, hurled across space, amazed, without starting-point of its own or knowledge of the aim, can feel nothing but the horror-struck consciousness of having mysteriously become the plaything of a black and merciless fate.

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The profound, the instructive, nature of this war is resumed by the memorable difference in the spiritual state of the two armies: the one forlorn and dazed, on being driven out from an abyss of mental darkness into the red light of a conflagration; the other, with the full knowledge of its past and its future, finding itself, as it were, at every step of the trying war before the eyes of an astonished world. The greatness of the lesson has been dwarfed for most of us by an often half-unconscious prejudice of race-difference. The West, having managed to lodge its hasty foot on the neck of the East, is prone to forget that it is from the East that the wonders of patience and wisdom have come to a world of men who set the value of life in the power to act rather than in the faculty of meditation. It has been dwarfed by this; and it has been obscured by a cloud of considerations with whose shaping wisdom and meditation had little or nothing to do; by the weary platitudes on the military situation—which (apart from geographical conditions) is the same everlasting situation that has prevailed since the times of Hannibal and Scipio and further back yet, since the beginning of historical record, since prehistoric times for that matter; by the conventional expressions of horror at the tale of maiming and killing; by the rumors of peace, with guesses more or less plausible as to its conditions. All this is made legitimate by the consecrated custom of writers in such time as this—the time of a great war. More legitimate, in view of the situation created in Europe, are the speculations as to the course of events after the war—more legitimate, but hardly more wise, than the irresponsible talk of strategy that never changes and peace-terms that do not matter.

And, above all, unaccountably persistent, unaccountably (unless on the theory that there is no evidence-subduing awe like the fear inspired by the appearances of brute-force), the decrepit, old, hundred-years-old, spectre of Russia's might still faces Europe from above the teeming grave of Russian people. This dreaded and strange apparition, bristling with bayonets, armed with chains, hung over with holy images, that something not of this world, partaking of a ravenous Ghoul, of a blind Djinn grown up from a cloud, and of the Old Man of the Sea, still faces us with its old stupidity, with its strange mystical arrogance, stamping with its shadowy feet upon the gravestone of Autocracy already cracked beyond repair by the torpedoes of Togo's

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fleet and the guns of Oyama, already heaving in the blood-soaked ground with the first stirrings of a resurrection.

Never before had the Western world the opportunity to look so deep into the abyss of whitened bones and grinning skulls which separates an Autocracy posing as, and believing itself to be, the arbiter of Europe from the benighted, starved souls of its people. This is the real object-lesson of this war, its unforgettable information. And this war's true mission, disentangled from the economic origins of that contest, from doors open or shut, from the fields of Korea for Russian wheat or Japanese rice, from the ownership of ice-free ports and the command of the waters of the East—its true mission was to lay a ghost. It has accomplished that. Whether Kuropatkin was incapable or unlucky, whether or not Russia, issuing next year, or the year after next, from behind a rampart of piled-up corpses, will win or lose a fresh campaign, are minor considerations. The task of Japan is done; the mission accomplished: the ghost of Russian might is laid. Only Europe, accustomed so long to the presence of that portent, seems unable to comprehend it; as in the fables of our childhood, the twelve strokes of the hour have rung, the cock has crowed—the apparition has vanished, never to haunt again this world which had been used to gaze at it with vague dread and many misgivings.

It was a fascination. And the hallucination still lasts, as inexplicable in its persistence as in its duration. It seems so unaccountable that the doubt arises as to the sincerity of all that talk as to what Russia will or will not do; whether it will raise or not another army; whether it will bury the Japanese in Manchuria under seventy millions of sacrificed peasants' caps (as her press boasted a little more than a year ago), or give up to them that jewel of her crown, Saghalin, together with some other things; whether, perchance, as an interesting alternative, it will make peace on the Amur in order to make war beyond the Oxus.

All these speculations (with many others) have appeared gravely in print; and, if they have been gravely considered by only one reader out of each hundred, there must be something subtly noxious for the brain in the composition of newspaper ink; or else it is that the large page, the columns of words, the leaded headings, exalt the mind into a state of feverish credulity. The printed voice of the press makes a sort of still uproar, taking

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from men both the power to reflect and the faculty of genuine feeling; leaving them only the artificially created need of having something exciting to talk about.

The truth is that Russia of our fathers, of our childhood, of our middle age—the testamentary Russia of Peter the Great, who imagined that all the nations were delivered into the hand of Tsardom—can do nothing. It can do nothing, because it does not exist. It has vanished forever at last, and as yet there is no new Russia to take the place of that ill-omened creation, which, being a fantasy of a madman's brain, could be nothing but a figure out of a nightmare seated upon a monument of fear and oppression.

The true greatness of a state does not spring from such a contemptible source. It is a matter of logical growth, of faith and courage. Its inspiration springs from the constructive instinct of the people, governed by the strong hand of a collective conscience, and voiced in the wisdom and counsel of men who seldom reap the reward of gratitude. Many states have been powerful, but perhaps none has been really great—as yet. That the position of a state in reference to the moral methods of its development can be seen only historically, is true. Perhaps mankind has not lived long enough for a comprehensive view of any particular case. Perhaps no one will ever live long enough; and perhaps this earth, shared out amongst our clashing ambitions by the anxious arrangements of statesmen, shall come to an end before we attain the felicity of greeting with unanimous applause the perfect fruition of a great state. It is even possible that we are destined for another sort of bliss altogether, that sort which consists in being perpetually duped by false appearances. But, whatever political illusion the future may hold out to our fear or our admiration, there will be none, it is safe to say, which in the magnitude of antihumanitarian effect will equal that phantom now driven off the world by the thunder of thousands of guns; none that in its retreat will cling with an equally shameless sincerity to more unworthy supports—to the moral corruption and mental darkness of slavery, to the mere brute force of numbers.

This very ignominy of infatuation should make clear to men's feelings and reason that the downfall of Russia's might is unavoidable. Spectral it lived and spectral it disappears, without leaving the memory of a single generous deed, of a single service

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rendered—even involuntarily—to the polity of nations. Other despotisms there have been, but none whose origin was so grimly fantastic in its baseness, and the beginning of whose end was so gruesomely ignoble.

Considered historically, Russia's influence in Europe seems the most baseless thing in the world: a sort of convention invented by diplomatists for some dark purpose of their own, one would suspect, if the lack of grasp upon the realities of any given situation were not a characteristic in the management of international relations. A glance back at the last hundred years shows the invariable—one may say, the logical—powerlessness of Russia. As a military power, it has never achieved by itself a single great thing. It has been, indeed, able to repel an ill-considered invasion, but only by having recourse to the extreme methods of desperation. In its attacks upon its specially selected victim, this giant always struck as if with a withered right hand. All the Turkish campaigns prove this, from Potemkin's time to the last Eastern War in '78, entered upon with every advantage that a well-nursed prestige and a carefully fostered fanaticism can give. Even the half-armed were always too much for the might of Russia, or, rather, of the Tsardom. It was victorious only as against the practically disarmed, as, in regard to its ideal of territorial expansion, a glance at a map will prove sufficiently. As an ally, Russia has always been unprofitable, taking her share in the defeats rather than in the victories of her friends, but always pushing her own claim with the arrogance of an arbiter of military success. She has been unable to help, to any purpose, a single principle to hold its own, not even the principle of authority and legitimism which Nicholas the First declared so haughtily to rest under his especial protection, just as Nicholas the Second has tried to make the maintenance of peace on earth his own exclusive affair. And the first Nicholas was a good Russian; he held the belief in the sacredness of his realm with such an intensity of faith that he could not survive the first shock of doubt. Rightly envisaged, the Crimean War was the end of what remained of absolutism and legitimism in Europe. It threw the way open for the liberation of Italy. The war in Manchuria makes an end of absolutism in Russia, whoever has got to perish from the shock behind a rampart of dead ukases, manifestoes and rescripts. In the space of a short fifty years, the

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self-appointed Apostle of Absolutism and the self-appointed Apostle of Peace, the Augustus and the Augustulus of the régime that was wont to speak contemptuously to European Foreign Offices in the beautiful French phrases of Prince Gortchakoff, have fallen victims to this shadowy and dreadful familiar—to the phantom, part Ghoul, part Djinn, part Old Man of the Sea—with beak and claws and a double head looking greedily east and west on the confines of two continents.

That nobody through all that time penetrated the true nature of the monster, it is impossible to believe. But, of the many who must have seen, all were either too modest, too cautious, perhaps too discreet, to speak. Yet not all.

In the very early sixties, Prince Bismarck, then about to leave his post of Prussian Minister in St. Petersburg, called—so the story goes—upon another distinguished diplomatist. After some talk upon the general situation, the future Chancellor of the German Empire remarked that it was his practice to resume the impressions he carried out of every country where he had made a long stay in a short sentence which he caused to be engraved upon some trinket. "I am leaving this country now, and this is what I bring away from it," he continued, taking off his finger a new ring to show his colleague the inscription: "*La Russie c'est le néant.*"

Prince Bismarck had the truth of the matter, and was neither too modest nor too discreet to speak out. Yet he did not shout his knowledge from the housetops. He meant to have the phantom for his accomplice in an enterprise which has set the clock of peace for many a year.

He had his way. The German Empire has been an accomplished fact for more than the third part of a century—a sort of legacy left to the world by the phantom of Russia's might.

It is that last that is disappearing now—unexpectedly, astonishingly, as if by a touch of that wonderful magic for which the East has always been famous. The pretence of belief which existed will no longer answer anybody's purposes (now Prince Bismarck is dead) unless the purpose of the writers of sensational paragraphs as to this "*Néant*" making an armed descent upon the plains of India. That sort of folly would be beneath contempt, if it did not distract attention from the real problem created for Europe by the War in the Far East.

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For good or evil in the working out of her destiny, Russia is bound to remain a "*Néant*" for many long years, in more even than the Bismarckian sense. The very fear of this spectre being gone, it behooves us to consider its legacy—the fact (no phantom that!) accomplished in Central Europe by its help and connivance.

The German Empire may feel at bottom the loss of an old accomplice always amenable to confidential whispers of a bargain; but, in the first instance, it cannot but rejoice at the fundamental weakening of a possible obstacle to its instincts of territorial expansion. There is a removal of that latent feeling of restraint which the presence of a powerful neighbor, however implicated with you in a sense of common guilt, is bound to inspire. The common guilt of the two Empires is defined precisely by their frontier line running through the Polish provinces. Without indulging in excessive feelings of indignation at that country's partition, or going so far as to believe—with a late French statesman—in the "immanent justice of things," it is clear that a material situation based upon an essentially immoral transaction contains the germ of fatal differences in the temperament of the two partners in iniquity—whatever it is. Germany has been the evil counsellor of Russia on all the questions of her Polish problem. Always urging the adoption of the most repressive measures with a perfectly logical duplicity, Prince Bismarck's empire has taken care to couple the neighborly offers of military assistance with its merciless advice. The thought of the Polish provinces accepting a frank reconciliation with a humanized Russia, and bringing the weight of homogeneous loyalty to within a few score of miles of Berlin, has been always intensely distasteful to the arrogant Germanizing tendencies of the other partner in iniquity. And, besides, the way to the Baltic provinces leads over the Vistula and over the Niemen.

And now, when there is a possibility of serious internal disturbances destroying the sort of order Autocracy has kept in Russia, the road over these rivers is seen wearing a more inviting aspect. At any moment, the pretext of armed intervention may be found in a revolutionary outbreak provoked by Socialists perhaps—but, at any rate, by the political immaturity of the enlightened classes and by the political barbarism of the Russian people. The throes of Russian resurrection will be long and painful. There must be some violent break-up of the lamentable tradi-

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tion—a shattering of the social, of the administrative, perhaps of the territorial, unity.

Voices have been heard saying that the time for reforms in Russia is already past. This is the superficial view of a more profound truth, that for Russia there has never been such a time within the memory of mankind. It is impossible to initiate any sort of reform upon a phase of blind absolutism; and in Russia there has never been anything else to which the faintest tradition could, after ages of error, go back as to a parting of the ways.

In Europe, the monarchical principle stands justified in its struggle with the growth of political liberty by the evolution of the idea of nationality as we see it concreted at the present time, by the inception of that wider solidarity grouping together around the standard of absolute power these larger agglomerations of mankind. This service of unification, creating close-knit communities possessing the ability, the will and the power to pursue a common ideal, has prepared the ground for the advent of a still larger understanding—for the solidarity of Europeanism which must be the next step towards the advent of Concord and Justice; an advent that has been and remains the only possible goal of our progress.

The conceptions of legality, of larger patriotism, of national duties and aspirations have grown under the shadow of the unlimited monarchies of Europe, which were the creations of historical necessity. There were seeds of wisdom in their very violences and abuses. They had a past and a future: they were human. But under the shadow of Russian Autocracy nothing could grow. Russian Autocracy succeeded to nothing; it had no historical past and it could not have an historical future. It can only end. By no industry of investigation, by no fantastic stretch of benevolence can it be presented as a phase of development through which a society, a state, must pass on the way to the full consciousness of its destiny. It lies outside the stream of progress. This despotism has been utterly un-European. And neither has it been Asiatic in its nature. Oriental despotisms belong to the history of mankind; they have left their trace on our minds and our imaginations by their splendor, by their culture, by their art, by the exploits of great conquerors. The record of their rise and decay has an intellectual value; they are in their origins and their course the manifestations of human needs, the

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instruments of racial temperament, of conquering force, of faith and fanaticism. The Russian Autocracy, as we see it now, is a thing apart. It is impossible to assign to it any rational origin in the vices, the misfortunes, the necessities or the passions of mankind. This despotism has neither a European nor an Oriental parentage; more—it seems to have no root in either the institutions or the follies of this earth. What strikes one with a sort of awe is just this something inhuman in its character. It is a visitation, like a curse from heaven falling in the darkness of ages upon the human plains of forest and steppe, lying dumbly on the confines of two continents: a true desert harboring no spirit either of the East or of the West.

This pitiful fate of a country, held by an evil spell, suffering from an awful visitation for which the responsibility cannot be traced to either her sins or her follies, has made Russia as a nation so difficult for Europe to understand. From the very first ghastly dawn of her existence as a state, she had to breathe the atmosphere of despotism, she found nothing but the arbitrary will of an obscure Autocrat at the beginning and end of her organization. Hence arises her impenetrability to whatever is true in Western thought. Western thought when it crosses her frontier falls under the spell of her Autocracy and becomes a noxious parody of itself. Hence the contradictions, the riddles, of her national life which are looked upon with such curiosity by the rest of the world. The curse had entered her very soul; Autocracy and nothing else in the world has moulded her institutions, and with the poison of slavery drugged the national temperament into the apathy of a hopeless fatalism. It seems to have gone into the blood, tainting every mental activity in its source by a half-mystical, insensate, fascinating assertion of purity and holiness. The government of Holy Russia, arrogating to itself the power to torment and slaughter the bodies of its subjects like a God-sent scourge, has been most cruel to those whom it allowed to live under the shadow of its dispensation. The worst crime against humanity of that system which we now behold crouching at bay behind vast heaps of mangled corpses, is the ruthless destruction of innumerable minds. The greatest horror of the world—madness—walked faithfully in its train. Some of the best intellects of Russia, after struggling in vain against the spell, ended by throwing themselves at the feet of that hope-

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less despotism as a giddy man leaps into an abyss. An attentive survey of Russia's literature, of her church, of her administration, and of the cross-currents of her thought, must end in the verdict that the Russia of to-day has not the right to give her voice in a single question touching the future of humanity, because, from the very inception of her being, the brutal destruction of dignity, of truth, of rectitude, of all that is fruitful in human nature, has been made the imperative condition of her existence. The great governmental secret of that *Imperium* which Prince Bismarck had the insight and the courage to call "*Le Néant*" has been the extirpation of every intellectual hope. To pronounce in the face of such a past the word "evolution," which is precisely the expression of the highest intellectual hope, is a gruesome pleasantry. There can be no evolution out of a grave. Another word of less scientific sound has been very much pronounced of late in connection with Russia's future, a word of more vague import, a word of dread as much as of hope—"Revolution."

In face of the events of the last four months, this word was sprung, instinctively as it were, on grave lips and has been heard with solemn forebodings. More or less consciously, Europe is preparing herself for a spectacle of much violence, and perhaps of an inspiring nobility of greatness. And there will be nothing of what she expects. She will see neither the anticipated character of the violence nor yet any signs of generous greatness. Her expectations, more or less vaguely expressed, give the measure of her ignorance of that *Néant* which for so many years had remained hidden behind the phantom of invincible armies.

Néant! In a way, yes! And perhaps Prince Bismarck has let himself be led away by the seduction of a good phrase into the use of an inexact term. The form of his judgment had to be pithy, striking, engraved within a ring. If he erred, then, no doubt, he erred deliberately. The saying was near enough the truth to serve: and perhaps he did not want to destroy utterly, by a more severe definition, the prestige of the sham that could not deceive his genius. Prince Bismarck has been really complimentary to the useful phantom of the autocratic might. There is an awe, inspiring the idea of infinity, conveyed in the word "*Néant*"—and in Russia there is no idea. She is not a *Néant:* she is and has been simply the negation of everything worth living. She is not empty void, she is a yawning chasm open between East and West;

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a bottomless abyss that has swallowed up every hope of mercy, every aspiration towards personal dignity, towards freedom, towards knowledge; every ennobling desire of the heart, every redeeming whisper of conscience. Those that have peered into that abyss—where the dreams of Panslavism, of universal conquest, of hate and contempt for Western ideas, drifted impotently like shapes of mist—know well that it is bottomless; that there is in it no ground for anything that could in the remotest degree serve even the lowest interest of mankind—and certainly no ground ready for a revolution.

The sin of the old European monarchies was not the absolutism inherent in every form of government; it was the inability to alter the forms of their legality grown narrow and oppressive with the march of time. Every form of legality is bound to degenerate into oppression, and the legality in the forms of monarchical institutions sooner perhaps than any other. It has not been the business of monarchies to be adaptive from within. With the mission of uniting and consolidating the particular ambitions and interests of feudalism in favor of a larger conception of a state, of giving self-consciousness, force and nationality to the scattered energies of thought and action, they were fated to lag behind the march of ideas they had themselves set in motion in a direction they could neither understand nor approve. Yet, with all that, the thrones still remain, and, what is more significant perhaps, many of the dynasties too have survived. The revolutions of European states have never been in the nature of absolute protests "*en masse*" against the monarchical principle: they were the uprisings of the people against the oppressive forms of legality. But there never has been any legality in Russia; she is a negation of that, as of everything else having its root in reason or conscience. The ground of every revolution has to be intellectually prepared. A revolution is a short cut in the rational development of national needs in response to the growth of world-wide ideals. It is conceivably possible for a monarch of genius to put himself at the head of a Revolution without ceasing to be the King of his people. For the Russian Autocracy the only conceivable self-reform is suicide.

The same relentless fate holds in its grip the all-powerful ruler and his helpless people. Wielders of a power purchased by an unspeakable baseness of subjection to the Khans of the Tartar

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Horde, the Princes of Russia, who in their heart of hearts had come in time to regard themselves as superior to every monarch of Europe, have never risen to be the chiefs of a nation. Their authority has never been sanctioned by popular tradition, by ideas of loyalty, of devotion, of political necessity, of simple expediency, or even by the power of the sword. Its only sanction has been the fear of the lash. Thus debarred from attaining to the dignity of chiefs, they have remained mere owners of slaves, asserting with half-mystical vanity the divine origin of the evil thing which had made them and their people its own. In whatever upheaval Autocratic Russia is to find her end, it can never be a revolution fruitful of moral consequences to mankind. It cannot be anything else but a rising of slaves. It is a tragic circumstance that the only thing one can wish for that people which has never seen face to face either law, order, justice, right, truth about itself or the rest of the world—which has known nothing outside the capricious will of its irresponsible masters—is that it should find in the approaching hour of need, not an organizer or a lawgiver, with the wisdom of a Lycurgus or a Solon for their service, but at least the force of energy and desperation in some as yet unknown Spartacus.

A brand of hopeless moral and mental inferiority is set upon Russian achievements; and the coming events of her internal changes, however appalling they may be in their magnitude, will be nothing more impressive than the convulsions of a colossal body. As her boasted military force that, corrupt in its origin, has ever struck no other than faltering blows, so her soul, kept benumbed by her temporal and spiritual master with the poison of tyranny and superstition, will find itself on awakening possessed of no language, a monstrous full-grown child having first to learn the ways of living thought and articulate speech. It is safe to say that tyranny, assuming a thousand protean shapes, will remain clinging to her struggles for a long time, before her blind multitudes succeed at last in trampling it out of existence.

That would be the beginning. What is to come after? The conquest of freedom to call your soul your own is only the first step on the road to excellence. We in Europe, having gone a step or two further, have had the time to forget how little that freedom means. To Russia it must seem everything. A prisoner shut up in a noisome dungeon concentrates all his hope and

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desire on the moment of stepping out beyond the gates. It appears to him pregnant with an immense and final importance; whereas what is important is the spirit in which he will draw the first breath of freedom, the counsels he will hear, the hands he may find extended, the endless days of toil that must follow, wherein he will have to build his future with no other material but what he can find within himself.

It would be vain for Russia to hope for the support and counsel of collective wisdom. Since 1870 (as a distinguished statesman of the old tradition disconsolately exclaimed), *"Il n'y a plus d'Europe!"* There is, indeed, no Europe. The idea of a Europe united in the solidarity of her dynasties, which for a moment seemed to dawn on the horizon of the Vienna Congress through the subsiding dust of Napoleonic alarums and excursions, has been extinguished by the larger glamour of less restraining ideals. Instead of the doctrine of solidarity, it was the doctrine of nationalities, much more favorable to spoliations, that came to the front; and, since its greatest triumphs at Sadowa and Sedan, there is no Europe. Meanwhile, till the time comes when there will be no frontiers, there are alliances so shamelessly based upon the exigencies of suspicion and mistrust that their cohesive force waxes and wanes with every year, almost with the event of every passing month. That is the atmosphere Russia will find when the last rampart of tyranny has been beaten down. But what hands, what voices will she find on coming out into the light of day? An ally she has yet who, more than any other of Russia's allies, has found that she has parted with lots of solid substance in exchange for a shadow. It is true that the shadow was indeed the mightiest, the darkest that the modern world had ever known—and the most overbearing. But it is fading now, and the tone of truest anxiety as to what is to take its place will come no doubt from that and no other direction; and no doubt also it will have that note of generosity which, even in the moments of greatest aberrations, is seldom wanting in the voice of the French people.

Two neighbors Russia will find at her door. Austria—traditionally unaggressive whenever her hand is not forced, ruled by a dynasty of uncertain future, weakened by its duality—can only speak to her in an uncertain bilingual phrase. Prussia, grown in something like sixty years from an almost pitiful dependent

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into a bullying friend and evil counsellor of Russia's masters, may indeed hasten to extend a strong hand to the weakness of her exhausted body; but, if so, it will be only with the intention of tearing away the long-coveted part of her substance.

Pan-Germanism is by no means a shape of mists, and Germany is anything but a *Néant* where thought and effort are like to lose themselves without sound or trace. It is a powerful and voracious organism, full of unscrupulous self-confidence, whose appetite for aggrandizement will only be limited by the power of helping itself to the severed members of its friends and neighbors. The era of wars, so eloquently denounced by the old republicans as the peculiar blood-guilt of dynastic ambitions, is by no means over yet. They will be fought out differently, with less frequency, with an increased bitterness and the savage tooth-and-claw obstinacy of a struggle for existence. They will make us regret the time of dynastic ambitions, with their human absurdity moderated by prudence and even by shame, by the fear of personal responsibility and the regard paid to certain forms of conventional decency. For, if the monarchs of Europe have been derided for addressing each other as "Brother" in autograph communications, that relationship was at least as effective as any form of brotherhood likely to be established between the rival nations of this continent, which, we are assured on all hands, is the heritage of democracy. In the ceremonial brotherhood of monarchs the reality of blood ties entered often, for what little it is worth, as a drag on unscrupulous desires of glory or greed. Besides, there was always the common danger of exasperated peoples and some respect for each other's divine right. No leader of a democracy, without other ancestry but the sudden shout of a multitude, and debarred by the very condition of power from even thinking of a direct heir, will have any interest in calling "brother" the leader of another democracy—a chief as fatherless and heirless as himself.

The war of 1870, brought about by the third Napoleon's generous invention of the principle of nationalities, was the first characterized by a special intensity of hate, by a new note in the tune of an old song for which we may thank the Teutonic thoroughness. Was it not that excellent *bourgeoise,* Princess Bismarck (to keep only to great examples), who was so righteously anxious to see men, women and children—emphatically the chil-

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dren, too—of the abominable French nation massacred off the face of the earth? This illustration of the new war-temper is artlessly revealed in the prattle of the amiable Busch, the Chancellor's pet "reptile" of the press. And this was only a war for an idea. Too much, however, should not be made of that good wife and mother's sentiments, any more than of the good Emperor William's tears, shed so abundantly after every battle by letter, by telegram and otherwise, during the course of the same war, before a dumb and shamefaced continent. These were merely the expressions of the simplicity of a nation which has a tendency to run into the grotesque. There is worse to come.

To-day, in the fierce grapple of two nations of different race, the short era of national wars seems about to close. No war will be waged for an idea. The noxious, idle aristocracies of yesterday fought without malice for an occupation, for the honor, for the fun, of the thing. The virtuous, industrious democratic states of to-morrow may yet be reduced to fighting over a crust of dry bread for their teeth, with all the hate, ferocity and fury that must attach to the vital importance of such an issue. The dreams of sanguine humanitarians, raised almost to ecstasy about the year fifty of the last century by the moving sight of the Crystal Palace—crammed full with that variegated rubbish which it seems to be the bizarre fate of humanity to purchase for the benefit of a few employers of labor—have vanished as quickly as they had arisen. The golden hopes of peace have in a single night turned to dead leaves in every drawer of every benevolent theorist's writing-table. A swift disenchantment overtook the incredible infatuation which could put its trust in the peaceful nature of industrial and commercial competition.

Industrialism and Commercialism — wearing high-sounding names in many languages (*"Welt-Politik"* may serve for one instance), picking up coins behind the severe and disdainful figure of Science, whose giant strides have widened for us the horizon of the universe by some three inches—stand ready, almost eager, to appeal to the sword as soon as the globe of the earth has shrunk beneath our growing numbers by another ell or so. And Democracy, which has elected to pin its faith to the supremacy of material interests, will have to fight their battles to the bitter end, on a mere pittance—unless, indeed, some statesman of exceptional ability and overwhelming prestige succeeds in

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carrying through an international understanding for the delimination of spheres of trade all over the earth, on the model of the territorial spheres of influence marked in Africa to keep the competitors, for the privilege of improving the nigger (as a buying machine), from flying at each other's throats.

This seems the only expedient at hand for the maintenance of European peace, with its alliances based on mutual distrust, the preparedness for war for its ideal, and fear of wounds—luckily stronger so far than the pinch of hunger—for its only guarantee. The true peace of the world will be a place of refuge much less like a beleaguered fortress and more, let us hope, in the nature of an inviolable temple. It will be built on less perishable foundations than those of material interests. But the architectural aspect of the universal city remains as yet inconceivable, the very ground of its erection has not been cleared of the jungle.

Never before in history has the right of war been more fully admitted in the rounded periods of public speeches, in books, in public prints, in all the public works of peace, culminating in the establishment of The Hague Tribunal—that solemnly official recognition of the Earth as a House of Strife. To him whose indignation is qualified by a measure of hope and affection, the efforts of mankind to work its own salvation present a sight of disarming comicality. After clinging for ages to the steps of the throne, they are now, without modifying much their attitude, trying with touching ingenuity to steal one by one the thunderbolts of their Jupiter. They have removed war from the list of heaven-sent visitations that could only be prayed against; they have erased its name from the supplication against the wrath of war, pestilence and famine, as it is in the litanies of the Roman church; they have dragged the scourge down from the skies and have made it into a calm and regulated institution.

The best way to help the prospects of advanced thought is to provide in the fullest, frankest way for the conditions of the present day. War is one of its conditions; it is its principal condition. It lies at the heart of every question agitating the fears and hopes of a humanity against itself. The succeeding ages have changed nothing except the watchwords of the armies. The intellectual stage of mankind being as yet in its infancy, and stages, like most individuals, having but a feeble and imperfect consciousness of the worth and force of the inner life, the need of

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making their existence manifest to themselves is determined in the direction of physical activity. The idea of ceasing to grow in territory, in strength, in wealth, in influence—in anything but wisdom and self-knowledge—is odious to them as an omen of the end. Action, in which is to be found the illusion of a mastered destiny, can alone satisfy our uneasy vanity and lay to rest the haunting fear of the future—a sentiment concealed, indeed, but proving its existence by the force with which, when invoked, it stirs the passions of a nation. It will be long before we have learned that even in the greatest darkness there is nothing that we need fear. "Let us act, lest we perish," is the cry. And the only form of action open to a state can be of no other than aggressive nature.

There are many kinds of aggressions, though the sanction of them all is one and the same—the magazine-rifle of the latest pattern. In preparation for or against such a form of action, the states of Europe are spending such moments of leisure as they can snatch from the labors of factory and counting-house.

Never before has war received so much homage at the lips of men, never has it reigned with less undisputed sway in their minds. It has harnessed science to its gun-carriages; it has enriched a few respectable manufacturers, scattered doles of food and raiment amongst a few thousand skilled workmen, devoured the first youth of whole generations and reaped its harvest of countless corpses. It has perverted the intelligence of men, women and children, and has made the speeches of Emperors, Kings, Presidents and Ministers monotonous with ardent protestations of fidelity to peace. Indeed, it has made peace altogether its own; it has modelled peace on its own image—a martial, overbearing, war-lord sort of peace, with a mailed fist and turned-up mustaches, ringing with the din of grand manœuvres, eloquent with allusions to glorious feats of arms; it has made peace so magnificent as to be almost as expensive to keep up as itself. And it has taken even more upon itself. As if it were the prophet of a new faith, it has sent out more apostles of its own, who at one time went about, mostly in newspapers, preaching the gospel of the mystic sanctity of its sacrifices and the regenerating power of spilt blood to the poor in mind—whose name is legion.

It has been observed that, in the course of earthly greatness, such a day of culminating triumph is often paid by a morrow of

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sudden extinction. Let us hope so. Yet the dawn of that day of retribution may be a long time breaking above a dark horizon. War is with us now; and, whether this one ends soon or late, war will be with us again. And it is the way of true wisdom for men and states to take account of things as they are.

Civilization has done its little best by our sensibilities, for whose growth it is responsible. It has managed to remove the sight and sounds of battle-fields away from our doorsteps. But it cannot be expected to achieve the feat always and under every variety of circumstance. Some day it must fail. Then we shall have a wealth of appallingly unpleasant sensations brought home to us with painful intimacy, while the apostles of war's sanctity will crawl away swiftly into the holes where they belong, somewhere in the yellow basements of newspaper offices. It is not absurd to suppose that, whatever war comes to us next, it will not be a distant war of *revanche* waged by Russia either beyond the Amur or beyond the Oxus.

The Japanese armies have laid that ghost for many a year. They have laid it forever, because the Russia of the future will not, for the reasons explained above, be the Russia of to-day. It will not have the same thoughts, resentments or aims. It is even a question whether it will preserve its gigantic frame unaltered and unbroken. All speculation loses itself in the magnitude of the events made possible by the defeat of an Autocracy whose only shadow of a title to existence was the invincible power of military conquest. That it will have a miserable end, in harmony with its base origin and inglorious life, does not seem open to doubt. The problem of the immediate future is posed not by the eventual manner but by the approaching fact of its disappearance.

The Japanese armies, in laying the oppressive ghost, have not only accomplished what will be recognized historically as an important mission in the world's struggle against all forms of evil; they have also created a situation. They have created a situation in the East which they are competent to manage by themselves: and, in doing this, they have brought about a change in the condition of the West with which Europe is not well prepared to deal. The common ground of concord, good faith and justice is not sufficient to establish an action upon; since the conscience of but very few men amongst us, and that of no single Western

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nation as yet, will brook the restraint of abstract ideas as against the fascination of a material advantage. And an eagle-eyed wisdom alone cannot take the lead of human action, which in its nature must forever remain short-sighted. The trouble of the civilized world is the want of a common conservative principle abstract enough to give the impulse, practical enough to form the rallying-point of international action tending towards the restraint of particular ambitions. Peace tribunals instituted for the greater glory of war will not replace it. Whether such a principle exists, who can say? If it does not, then it ought to be invented. A sage, with a sense of humor and a heart of compassion, should set about it without loss of time; and a solemn prophet full of words and fire ought to be given the task of preparing the minds. So far, there is no trace of such a principle anywhere in sight; even its plausible imitations (never very effective) have disappeared long ago before the doctrine of national aspirations. *"Il n'y a plus d'Europe";* there is only an armed and trading continent, the home of slowly maturing economical contests for life and death, and of loudly proclaimed world-wide ambitions. There are also other ambitions, not so loud, but deeply rooted in the envious acquisitive temperament of the last comer amongst the great Powers of the Continent, whose feet are not exactly in the ocean—not yet, whose head is very high up. In Pomerania, the breeding-place of such precious grenadiers, Prince Bismarck (whom it is a pleasure to quote) would not have given the bones of one for the settlement of the Eastern Question. But times have changed since. By way of keeping up some old, barbaric German rite, the faithful servant of the Hohenzollerns was buried alive to celebrate the accession of a new Emperor.

Already, the voice of surmises has been heard hinting tentatively at a possible regrouping of European Powers. The alliance of the three Empires is supposed possible. And it may be possible. The myth of Russia's power is dying very hard—hard enough for that combination to take place—such is the fascination that a discredited show of numbers will still exercise upon the imagination of a people trained to the worship of force. Germany may be willing to lend its support to a tottering Autocracy for the sake of an undisputed first place in such a combination—and of a preponderating voice in the settlement of every question

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in that Southeast of Europe which merges into Asia. No principle being involved in such an alliance of mere expediency, it would never be allowed to stand in the way of Germany's other ambitions. The fall of Autocracy would bring its restraint automatically to an end. Thus it may be believed that the support Russian despotism may get from its once humble friend and client will not be stamped by that thoroughness which is supposed to be the mark of German superiority. Russia weakened down to the second place, or Russia eclipsed altogether during the throes of her regeneration, will answer equally well the plans of German policy, which are many and various, and often incredible, though the aim of them all is the same—aggrandizement of territory and influence with no regard to right and justice either in the East or in the West. That and no other is the true note of your *Welt-politik* which desires to live.

The German eagle with a Prussian head looks all round the horizon, not so much for something to do that would count for good in the records of the earth, as simply for something good to get. He gazes upon the land and upon the sea with the same covetous steadiness, for he has become of late a maritime eagle and has learned to box the compass. He gazes North and South and East and West, and is inclined to look intemperately upon the waters of the Mediterranean when they are blue. The disappearance of the Russian phantom has given a foreboding of unwonted freedom to the *Welt-Politik*. According to the national tendency, this assumption of Imperial impulses would run into the grotesque, were it not for the spikes of the pike-shanks peeping out grimly from behind. Germany's attitude proves that no peace for Earth can be found in the expansion of material interests which she seems to have adopted exclusively as her only aim, ideal and watchword. For the use of those who gaze, half-unbelieving, at the passing away of the Russian phantom—part Ghoul, part Djinn, part Old Man of the Sea—and wait, half-doubting, for the birth of a nation's soul in this age which knows no miracles, the one famous saying of poor Gambetta, tribune of the people (who was simple and believed in the "immanent justice of things"), may be adapted in the shape of a warning that, so far as a future of liberty, concord and justice is concerned, "*Le Prussianisme—voilà l'ennemi!*"

JOSEPH CONRAD.

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THE INDUSTRIAL SITUATION IN IRELAND.

BY J. W. ROOT.

I HAVE recently had an exceptionally favorable opportunity of investigating the conditions under which the various industries throughout Ireland are being conducted, seeing and hearing what state of efficiency they are in, and forming some idea regarding prospects for the future. I visited nearly all the important works and factories in the island; those I did not call at were either isolated and too far out of my track, or having met the principals elsewhere I had really no excuse for going.

My experience, too, was an agreeable one, as I was nearly always frankly and courteously received, and the information I managed to pick up was both extensive and reliable. Had I gone solely for the purpose of investigation, I suppose my plan would have been to seek formal introductions to a few of the representative men in the different industries, and gather their ideas, which would have been specially prepared for the occasion, and necessarily more or less tinged by their individual interests and predilections. As it was, I interviewed both small and great, and as there was seldom any premeditated intention of opening a discussion with me, the many interesting conversations that ensued were spontaneous and based on the discovery that each could tell the other something worth knowing.

Any reference to industrial Ireland naturally brings foremost to the mind Belfast and the north, if not, indeed, the particular industry for which they have become famous—namely, the manufacture of linen fabrics. First impressions of that city are generally favorable, and a week or two's sojourn in it is more than likely to confirm them. I do not know any city or fair-sized business town in the whole of the United Kingdom, and I have visited them all, that excels it, and few that equal it, in the

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evidences alike of public spirit and private enterprise. Recent years have witnessed great improvements; many of the important buildings are new, while here and there a still vacant site affords additional evidence of the sweeping away of old and more or less dilapidated property.

What is it that has made Belfast the foremost city, commercially and municipally, in Ireland, and placed it in the front rank among those of the British Empire? I found nothing extraordinary about the men I met there. Now and again, I encountered one of marked individuality and striking ability; the majority were of fair average ability, sometimes accompanied by a worldly prosperity that rendered it unnecessary to put forth anything more, while a few gave me insufficient clue as to where their special ability lay.

But, if Belfast enjoys no special advantages as regards its people, it certainly does in geographical situation. This may sound strange when it is borne in mind that it is severed by a broad belt of not usually very calm water from the busiest arteries of British industry and commerce. But whatever drawback this entails is personal, and to the extent only that it disinclines a few people to conduct their negotiations at close quarters quite as often as they might otherwise be disposed to do. When it comes to the transport of merchandise, however, every advantage is on the other side. No monopolies trouble the merchant or manufacturer, and the British railway companies that take such precautions against cutting rates in favor of British traders fight one another to the death for the privilege of conveying Irish traffic cheap. Those with an outlet on the Irish Sea have established their own lines of steamers, and quote through rates from the inland towns of Great Britain that make it desperately hard for the regular steamship owners to make ends meet, even at such times as they are not fighting among themselves. Talk to a British manufacturer about his grievances, and he is almost certain to put excessive railway rates at the head of the list. Suggest the same thing to his Belfast correspondent, and he smiles complacently. If any one wants to hear of the ruin and devastation that follow in the wake of transport charges, he must interview the representatives of cross-channel steamship and railway companies.

It must not be supposed that Ireland in general has no grievances on this score. They are numerous as well as tangible, and

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few business questions occupy so much of the time of public bodies. The unique position I have described is not, however, enjoyed solely by Belfast, but is shared to some extent by such of the other Irish ports as can maintain regular and frequent direct communication with the other side of the channel.

But to none is the gain so pronounced as to Belfast and the surrounding district dependent on it. Its industries are Irish only to the extent that the actual manufacture takes place on Irish soil; and, were they dependent solely on Irish demand, four-fifths, if not nine-tenths, of the machinery would be brought to an absolute stand. The enumeration of Belfast's principal industries is sufficient to prove this. First and foremost is linen, which owes its origin to natural causes—one the growth of flax on Irish soil, which has now, however, fallen to such small proportions as to be scarcely a factor, though great efforts are being made to resuscitate it; the other, abundance and purity of water, along with dampness and general suitability of climate for bleaching purposes, which remain as great as ever. It is estimated that quite half the output of Irish looms finds its way to foreign and colonial destinations, most of the other half being purchased for British use, nine-tenths of the total leaving Ireland altogether.

It is to its two great shipyards, for which Belfast Lough affords magnificent facilities, that the city owes its recent rapid expansion and growth of prosperity, more than anything else. One of them is the premier yard of the world, and nearly every year puts into the water a tonnage far in excess of any of its competitors. The other would be a foremost concern anywhere but in Belfast, where, however, it is overshadowed. Both build great ocean steamers, and few of these after once leaving the port ever return to it, or to any other in Ireland, except for the purpose of landing passengers and mails.

Nearly everything, too, used in construction is brought across the channel, the advantages previously alluded to placing the builders in an equal, if not superior, position to their English and Scotch rivals, so that the real gain to Ireland from this industry originates in the distribution of wages, which are immense when nearly 20,000 men are working full time.

This includes the number employed in the engine-shops attached to the shipyards. With this exception, engineering is not a prominent industry in Belfast, the one concern carrying on a

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general business in a large way having gone into liquidation after a long, brilliant and, for a time, prosperous career; and, as it worked largely to supply machinery for local purposes without depending to any extent on British or foreign trade, it was more closely identified with Irish industry. Another more recent but similar concern went the same way, and to-day the industry is represented by textile machinists working for the linen trade, and another firm whose specialties are for tea preparation and sends most of its output to India.

Two other industries, the product of which is little used at home, call for special mention, the manufacture of coarse felt for roofing purposes, of which Belfast is by far the most important centre, and rope and twine making, which though almost monopolized by one concern is conducted by it on an immense scale. On the other hand, there are a few more thoroughly Irish. The tobacco factories dispose of a large part of their output at home. Milling, which for a time had almost ceased to exist in Belfast, has not only revived, but with modernized plant and methods has become very prosperous, and in this case the entire production is consumed locally. The same applies to the manufacture of soap and candles; for, though it has not proved possible for the makers of these to compete successfully outside Ireland, they have pretty well driven their British rivals off the field as far as the north is concerned.

This brief survey explains why the industrial and trading population of Ulster hold themselves so persistently aloof from the rest of Ireland. Had the difference been merely one of race and religion, time would probably have mollified the antagonism, had business interests and necessities thrown the two sections more into contact. As it is, this antagonism has been aggravated by the necessity of Ulster looking to Great Britain primarily for a continuance of its business prosperity, and a corresponding feeling that, were the rest of Ireland to disappear under the Atlantic to-morrow and leave only the eastern half of the northern province afloat, it would be far more of a relief than a loss.

Outside Belfast, the linen trade in one or other of its branches accounts for most of the industrial activity that prevails in Ulster, though the larger bleach-works get a good deal of material to handle from the Lancashire cotton factories, and there are also one or two calico-printing works quite outside, and independent

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of the British combine. A paper-mill, two considerable woollen factories in the neighborhood of Ballymena, and a carpet factory far out in Donegal owned by a large Scotch firm, pretty well constitute the minor industries, until Londonderry is reached, where something like 20,000 hands, mostly female, are engaged in shirt factories, the principal of which belong to English dry-goods houses, who furnish the material and do most of the subsequent distributing.

The characteristics of industrial Ulster become less marked as the south of the province is reached. The counties of Antrim and Armagh are aggressively and overwhelmingly Protestant and Orange, whereas the southern portion of County Down, containing a number of large mills and factories, is decidedly Catholic. But the dividing line is not usually drawn even at the boundary between Ulster and Leinster, but goes farther south into the latter, people referring to "north of the Boyne" and "south of the Boyne" as representing the areas of British ascendency and Irish domination respectively, though this has long ceased to be the case. The linen industry, however, extends right down to this river, there being two or three fair-sized factories still working at Drogheda, and another a hopeless derelict. But between it and the Ulster border town of Newry, there is little but agriculture in evidence, the one important exception being the locomotive and engineering works of one of the railway companies, located at Dundalk.

Though there are other places along the east coast that invite industrial development, nothing of the sort is to be seen or heard of except an occasional brewery and one or two hosiery factories a little to the north of Dublin. In the capital of the country, one naturally looks for, and expects to find, some of that enterprise that distinguishes the northern town; but the search, to be rewarded, requires to be pretty persistent. Of course, everybody in the United Kingdom, and probably many people in America, have heard of the great brewery there, which not only tries to assuage the thirst of the entire Irish people, but follows them to the ends of the earth. There used to be other breweries in Dublin as well, but this one has found no need to swallow them up, as it has succeeded in drowning them out. Scarcely less prominent are the distilleries, of which there are still three or four, though two of them are reputed to be giving the others a very bad time.

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Whatever these industries may do for the material wealth of Dublin, I do not think they add anything to its social well-being, and Belfast would hardly be the place it is if it exchanged its flax-spinning and weaving mills for breweries and distilleries.

Though the trade of these concerns is largely local, or at any rate Irish, the world-wide reputation they have gained assures the export to Great Britain and oversea of a considerable part of their production, and so enriches the country by that means. With one exception, these are about the only Dublin industries of which this can be said. That is a great biscuit factory, which finds the bulk of its customers outside Ireland, as the Irish people show little of the British partiality for biscuits and cakes.

Of what may be termed great industries, Dublin possesses really none. The most prominent, particularly to the olfactory nerve, after those already mentioned, are the chemical manure works; and, Ireland being essentially an agricultural country, the demand for these is, or should be, very great. It is, at any rate, in excess of home production, as the import of British and other foreign stuffs is considerable, and I doubt if in this instance any appeal to national sentiment will ever get the better of chemical analysis. As in Belfast, soap-making is pretty well established; I cannot say whether it is more or less profitable than in the northern town; it certainly has gained nothing like the same monopoly, and one or two of the more energetic English firms do a considerable trade in competition with them.

With the exception of milling, which here, as in other parts of Ireland, has experienced a remarkable revival, there is nothing left of sufficient national, to say nothing of international, importance to justify mention. In most cases, the other individual industries are almost entirely local, and the owners well satisfied to obtain a share of the Irish trade which falls principally into the hands of English and Scotch firms, to whom this local competition makes hardly any appreciable difference. Much of the active business life of Dublin originates with the representatives of such firms, many of them permanently installed in the city, while others are satisfied with periodical visits.

Nobody ever associates the south or west of Ireland with industrial activity, and for nearly a hundred miles due south of Dublin the land is industrially barren. I came across but two factories, the first outside the town of Wicklow, a branch of one

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of the Dublin manure-works, the other at Arklow, also a branch, of a large Birmingham explosives and ammunition firm, neither of them, therefore, working directly on their own initiative. The latter was started many years ago, admittedly as an experiment, but the difficulties proved so great that it was shut down again. I was pleased to find, however, that it was once more working, with every prospect of permanency and success. Veritably, two oases in an industrial desert, though it possesses harbors and other advantages that ought to be attractive to energy and capital.

Wexford, in the extreme southeast corner of Ireland, is geographically the Belfast of the south, though it has a long way to travel before, in any respect, it gets anything near level with its northern prototype. Outside Belfast, it is the most important, indeed the only other, engineering district in the whole country. It stands in relation to the coal and iron resources of South Wales as Belfast does to Lanarkshire and Cumberland, and can draw unlimited supplies of both at cheap rates, or rather could do so if the demand justified growth of competition in the carrying trade, and the harbor were rendered less treacherous than it is at present. The speciality of the Wexford industry is agricultural implements and dairy machinery, of which large quantities are annually produced and sold throughout the country.

Travelling westward from this point, there is nothing noteworthy until Waterford is reached, and here we first make acquaintance, on a large scale, with the bacon-curing establishments. These belong more to the realm of agricultural than of manufacturing economy, to which we are particularly addressing ourselves; but it is far too important an industry in the three leading towns of the south and west to be overlooked. Indeed, Waterford has little else, though it is important as a seaport and distributing centre for grain and cross-channel traffic.

The city of Cork is rightly regarded as the southern metropolis. It is the third largest of the Irish towns, though it contains less than a third of the population of either of the other two, and a stranger entering it probably does not expect great things. I did not, and was all the more agreeably surprised to discover before I left a hopefulness and activity not prevalent even in Belfast, and about which I shall have something to say presently. The town has always been specially identified with the butter trade, though it no longer enjoys anything like its former importance with

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regard to it. The establishment all over the country of creameries has rendered the grading of the Cork butter merchants superfluous, much of the produce passing direct from the factory to the buyers on its own merits or the reputation of the particular makers.

That, like bacon-curing, pertains to agriculture, but milling is to-day the most active industry, and as nearly all the grain is imported, it has but little to do with agricultural Ireland. But Cork is likewise the chief centre of the Irish woollen industry, three of the principal mills in the country being within a few miles of the town, the entire process of converting fleece into cloth being gone through in two of them. The local demand for their goods has latterly much increased, though they have always been dependent mainly on the London and other English markets. Another textile factory, the only one of its kind in the south, is engaged in the manufacture of linen, but, as its output is all distributed in the district, it differs materially from the Belfast industry, and maintains connection with it principally for the supply of its raw material.

There is but one other town demanding special mention, namely Limerick; but it is a fairly important one, inasmuch as it is the centre of the bacon-curing industry, and has also two of the largest corn-mills in the country. Butter, chocolate and biscuits are other considerable items of production, and the only large tannery in Ireland is to be found there. It has also the largest clothing factory in the country, giving employment to about a thousand hands. Several of the most energetic and enterprising firms to be found anywhere in Ireland have made this town their headquarters, and it is rather surprising it has not made greater progress than there is actual evidence of.

A mere summary of the various industries to be found in Ireland, while it may be interesting, can have no particular practical value, and it is with their future, rather than their past or present, that we are more directly concerned. There is a belief prevalent that the country is about to experience an industrial awakening and take a more important place among the progressive countries of the world, and the question arises whether the material for such development actually exists or can be created. One would suppose the greatest enthusiasm in this direction would be experienced in the north, where manufacturing industry has long been firmly and profitably established. But there I dis-

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covered little, though machinery and appliances are generally in a very efficient state. One manufacturer I did meet who has great hopes for the future of the linen trade, and looks forward to the time when that textile will be as cheap as cotton—should that ever happen, it will be due, partly at any rate, to his own mechanical genius. But the more general opinion is inclined to be somewhat gloomy. It is pointed out that flax-spinning makes no progress, that within the last ten years the number of spindles has tended to diminish, and that no increased output of yarn compensates for the deficiency. Yet the quantity produced is totally inadequate for local requirements, and large supplies are regularly imported from Belgium, France and other Continental countries. This, of course, is a grievance of the spinning community, which has a remedy for it, just now very popular among manufacturers of all classes, but one that the population of Great Britain shows a determination to reject.

As this competition tends to cheapen the price of yarn, it might be supposed that weavers, where they are not at the same time spinners, would be found in the opposite fiscal camp. A large majority of them, however, are strongly protectionist in sympathy, though exactly how such a policy would benefit them, few can explain, or for that matter comprehend; and I suspect their attitude is more political than economic. Protection in Great Britain would hardly help them, there is too much competition among themselves to enable them to take advantage of it. On the other hand, the large foreign trade would be jeopardized by any increased cost of production or restriction of output, and the linen trade is more dependent on this than any other British industry with the single exception of cotton. Linen is the one fully manufactured article used in the United States that no tariff has succeeded in displacing; and, whereas other textile manufacturers have had to lament an almost total loss of trade, Belfast has hardly turned a hair. True, complaints are heard from some of the makers up of handkerchiefs and other small articles, that part of their trade has been interfered with, and that goods in the piece instead of finished are in increasing demand; but a journey round the immense piles of warehouses where thousands of hands are regularly employed in making up for foreign markets, suffices to show that what is left is worth having.

Belfast has discovered that America cannot compete where any

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considerable amount of hand labor is involved, and takes care, as far as it is within its power, to order the prevailing fashions in forms that no machines invented are capable of turning out. The cute Yankee sets to work to devise them, only perhaps to find, when successful, that he is a day behind the fair, and that another change of fashion has given him his trouble for nothing.

This tone of pessimism pervades the industry to an even more marked degree in the scattered districts outside Belfast, and possibly with somewhat more reason. Nowhere are there any signs of expansion; and, whereas the tendency throughout Great Britain is to remove industrial concerns from the denser centres of population, in the north of Ireland it is the reverse, and the trade is becoming ever more concentrated in Belfast. There are reasons for this. In the first place, the persistent diminution of the agricultural population correspondingly reduces the supply of factory labor, and in Londonderry this has reached such a point, that when I was there the shirt factories were suffering from a positive dearth of hands, while I was reading in the newspapers about the number of unemployed all over the country. Even the smaller towns in the north are losing population, partly by emigration over sea, but to some extent by removal to Belfast, where manufacturers find that a constant and regular supply of labor is more to be relied on than anywhere else. The result is that, whenever a new mill or factory is contemplated, it is arranged for either within Belfast itself, or not more than a mile or two out of it, and the country districts are losing relatively, if not actually, their importance in the industry.

Thus to talk to people in the staple trade of the north of industrial revival is to use language few of them comprehend. They are busily occupied holding their own; and, so far from having many opportunities of encroaching upon others, their constant dread is lest they themselves should be encroached upon. They never quite lose the fear that some change in climate, or more likely the creation of artificial atmosphere or other conditions, may make the linen manufacture possible in America, in which event they would have to face the loss of at least one-fourth of their total trade, without at present any perceptible outlet to transfer it to. Though such fears are probably groundless, they effectually suppress that exhilaration which is very often the forerunner of expansion and solid progress.

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In Dublin, however, there are distinct evidences of the so-called "Irish revival." Shopkeepers invite their patrons to "Support Irish Industry," and fill their windows with goods "manufactured in Ireland," sometimes giving the names of the makers and the places where the goods are made. It is an appeal to national sentiment, which, for the time being, is liberally responded to, though generally the same goods were previously bought by the same people without that special recommendation. I was confirmed in this opinion when, in answer to my inquiries, I was told by some of the local manufacturers whose goods were being pushed, that they had not experienced any special stimulus, and I more than suspected that it was the tradesman who derived the benefit, availing himself on the one hand of the competition of English and Scotch firms to modify the pretensions of Irish makers, and on the other raising the price a trifle on the strength of popular sentiment. That sentiment has hardly taken sufficient root to warrant an extension of industry in the immediate vicinity of the capital, and the suspicion that it may after all be but a passing phenomenon, and any day collapse, makes even enterprising people cautious.

But in the south there is genuine enthusiasm and belief in the new movement which is already having practical results. The people of Cork trace the revival to the industrial exhibition held in their city two or three years ago, when most of them were surprised to find how many different articles were produced, or capable of being produced, in the country. I have already mentioned milling as the chief industry of the town itself. A special stimulus was given to this by the partial failure of the American wheat harvest, and the opportunity it afforded to speculators, of raising and maintaining the price considerably above European parity, which promptly destroyed the ability of American millers to export flour produced from home-grown wheat. Half a dozen years ago one or two Cork millers on the alert would have made a good thing out of this, and looked for a speedy reversion to the old conditions. This time, everybody seemed alive to the possibilities, and any building that had been used as a mill, or seemed capable of being turned into one, was overhauled and filled with modern machinery, with the result that the output has within a very brief period doubled if not trebled. What is more, Cork declares that America will never get its south of Ireland

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trade back again, and that the adoption of modern machinery and methods has made Cork ready to face any competition.

This is the right spirit and it has seized other industries besides milling. In addition to the large woollen factories already alluded to, a number of smaller ones are scattered over the counties of Cork and Kerry. Their existence has long been precarious, sometimes idle, sometimes at work; occasionally at a profit, but more frequently, I suspect, at a loss. This is all changed, and I suppose there is not a spindle or loom not now working for all it is worth, without being able to satisfy the demand upon it. So that, whereas to the manufacturers of the north the idea of industrial revival has hardly occurred, those in the neighborhood of Dublin read about it in the newspapers, and see some evidences of it in shop-windows, men fortunate enough to be located in the south are experiencing it in the increased demand for their goods, and the good prices they obtain.

If further proof were needed of the reality of the movement, it is to be found in the evidence of commercial travellers and other representatives of British houses. Accustomed to book more or less substantial orders at their recurring visits, many of them are going almost empty away, with just enough to keep accounts open. The explanation given them is not that trade is slack, but that everybody wants Irish-made goods, and appears willing to pay the price for them.

Outside the immediate sphere of this impulse, the idea prevails that it will be short-lived, and no special efforts have yet been made to combat it. The question may well be asked, why so admirable a movement should be combated at all, but people whose trade is threatened with displacement will hardly be willing to submit without a struggle. Therein lies the danger; for, if American millers in the desire to regain the market for their flour, and English and Scotch houses equally desirous of maintaining their business connections, begin to cut prices below cost in the hope of running their new rivals off the ground, they will arouse exasperation and agitation they do not reckon on.

The Irish people always made it a grievance that their former industries were destroyed by English legislation for the benefit of English rivals. I believe this idea to be mistaken, because the handful of manufacturers outside the north, who, when the crisis arrived, adopted the new methods and put in new machinery,

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mostly survived, and some of them amassed considerable fortunes. But, against attacks such as I have described, the Irish people are certain to demand some sort of protection, which it will be difficult to refuse. The picture of budding national industry and prosperity crushed under the iron heel of wealthy and long-established foreign monopolists will be harrowing, and the painting of it will create more friction between the two countries than anything that has happened since the days of coercion. The British Parliament may either be itself compelled to take some action, or delegate the power of doing so into the hands of the Irish people. Not so difficult an operation, perhaps, as it looks, because on this particular subject the sharp lines of division that exist in everything political are almost entirely obliterated.

I saw and heard enough to convince me that this industrial revival in the south is one of the most promising and substantial movements that have been promoted in Ireland for many a day. It has broken down party barriers between those taking part in it; Nationalist and Unionist, Protestant and Catholic, working with equal enthusiasm for what they regard as the common good. The principal internal danger that threatens is that it may be too much localized, from a desire to retain the benefits exclusively for the Irish people. The natural facilities that, under present-day economic conditions, the country affords are so great that I believe the people are amply justified in aiming at supplying far more than local wants, and that they are capable of taking an honorable place in international industry and competition.

For this they do not possess to-day either sufficient population or capital, and what is most wanted is an influx of both. I am sure the leaders of the movement would welcome them from whatever quarter they came; I am not so sure that considerable opposition will not be offered by that section—a gradually declining one, both in influence and numbers—that is antagonistic to everything and everybody that is not Irish in origin and Roman Catholic in religion. The best thing probably that can happen to the south is a movement that tends to equalize the races, and minimize that clerical influence in secular affairs that derives its strength from overwhelming preponderance of population. It is just possible that industrial development may supply the long-sought solution of the political problem.

J. W. Root.

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UNITED STATES COPYRIGHT LAW AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

BY G. HERBERT THRING, SECRETARY OF THE INCORPORATED SOCIETY OF AUTHORS.

In the January number of this Review, Mark Twain, with his usual originality and not without his usual humor, discussed one aspect of the present position of the United States copyright law in its bearing on the work of United States authors—namely, the duration of copyright. But there are some further points of this same law which are fully as worthy of consideration: (1) The United States law as a sign of the evolution in the protection of the intellectual property of its own citizens; (2) The United States law as it affects those who are not citizens.

Before these points come forward for elucidation Mark Twain's article and the proposal it contains merit serious study.

His objection to the copyright law as it affects American citizens by the forty-two years' limit would apply equally well to any copyright law as it affects citizens of any country. For, with the exception of Mexico, Guatemala and Venezuela, where copyright is, we believe, perpetual, every country has fixed its limit. The longest term is in Spain, where it endures for the life of the author and eighty years.

Before the invention of printing no copyright statutes existed, and after the author had received a fee from the bookseller for the right to deal with what might be looked upon as a limited first edition of the work, the author had no rights whatever.

Accordingly, by long usage the public came to consider that the rights in intellectual property were its own; and only after the invention of printing, and after the trade had been severely affected by competition, did copyright laws come into fashion—originally framed to protect the trade rather than the author.

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Still the public clamored for what in those unenlightened days it considered its property, and a limitation on what was looked upon as an author's monopoly was fixed; but, as Mark Twain has pointed out, on one side only did the public gain advantage from the absence of protection under which the author suffered. It was really the publisher who reaped the benefit, for after the time limit had expired, he kept reproducing editions without payment to the author, and for his own commercial gain.

The tendency of modern copyright legislation has been to lengthen the term of copyright.

Mark Twain suggested a method by which the author's rights might be continued for the advantage of the author or his descendants. But, though agreeing with the principle, we take the liberty, after a long and careful study of the subject, to differ from the solution.

He desired that during the forty-second year—the last year of the copyright limit in the United States—the owner of the copyright should be obliged to issue an edition of the book at the following rates, "to wit, twenty-five cents for each 100,000 words or less of its contents, and keep the said edition on sale year after year indefinitely, and if in any year he shall fail to keep such edition on sale during the space of three months the copyright shall then perish."

There appear to be three objections to this method, the first a financial and commercial objection. The prices of print and paper vary, and it might at times be almost impossible to produce a twenty-five cents per 100,000 words edition which would bring in a return to the author. The second objection is a legal one: what would constitute keeping such an edition on sale?

The third is an objection from the public; if any one is to reap the benefit of continued issue, the author is primarily entitled to do so, but the public have a better claim than the publisher to the balance of the profits.

This alternative solution of the difficulty is put forward with all humility—a solution which would benefit the public as well as the author—namely, that the government, to the exclusion of others, should start a publishing business in order to supply the public demand for any books which would have fallen out of copyright under the existing law, and that it should be bound to produce them, paying a royalty—to be settled—to the author

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or his personal representatives. All further profits accruing from the publication would then go to the public as a whole, and not to the individual publisher.

We desire next to consider the United States Act as it affects those who have not the privileges of citizenship, and especially those who write in the English tongue,—that is, the international view of the present law.

In order to make the position clear and distinct to those—and there are many—who do not know the main features of the question, it will be necessary to put forward as concisely as possible a few of the facts from the history of copyright.

At the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was great activity in copyright matters all over the world. Three or four of the great civilizations were legislating on the subject, and amongst them the United States. Connecticut, Massachusetts, Virginia and New York passed legislative enactments about 1780. These State laws, however, were upset by the United States statute of 1790.

In Great Britain, the Act of Queen Anne was still in force; but other Acts were passed during the same period, the great majority of which have since been repealed.

France, after the Revolution, also took the subject in hand.

But, so far, each country was legislating for its own citizens, and would not admit foreigners to the benefit of its copyright laws. This tendency arose, no doubt, from the ignorance of the legislators, who were unable to grasp the real benefit of a broad copyright basis.

There were three reasons which, working out in slow evolution, made international copyright essential:

Firstly, the limitation of the market of the authors of a given country; this acted as a limitation on the literary output of that country. Secondly, the limitation of the market which enabled the trade of a country to pirate the productions of the great authors of other countries; this also tended to limit the literary output, as the work of its own citizens was undersold. Lastly, the fact that the piracy of the works of the eminent writers of other countries soaked a nation with foreign ideas, and destroyed those patriotic feelings which a great national literature would tend to produce. The importance of this point has not been sufficiently understood.

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To quote a concrete instance: A deputation of the citizens of Hungary—a country still outside the Bern Convention—appealed to the Government, and complained that the large influx of thought from other countries tended to foster in that country the spirit, the tone, the sentiments of foreigners, and that the young generation were not growing up Hungarian patriots full of the vigor and sentiments of their race, but nerveless cosmopolitans. They stated that this result was due to the suppression of genuine Hungarian Literature, owing to the unfair competition by piracy of foreign works.

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century began the first important move towards international copyright.

In Great Britain the first step was taken by an International Copyright Act passed in 1838. This was quickly followed by a new International Copyright Act, in 1844, giving wider powers and embracing a larger literary property. Under this Act, a Convention was formed with Prussia. Most of the German States followed with separate Conventions based on the same lines. A Convention with France was granted in November, 1851. The other European countries during the same period were also engaged in making Conventions with one another.

This increase of treaties as a sign of a great movement was indeed auspicious; but as each Convention had to be considered, not only with reference to the two countries in negotiation, but, in many cases, with reference also to other countries which had previous Conventions with one or other of the contracting parties, confusion with regard to the interpretation and limitation of the author's rights was bound to arise. The result of these many Conventions was "indefinite heterogeneity."

To give some idea of their number and extent, it should be stated that between 1846 and 1886 Great Britain entered into fifteen. Between 1840 and 1887 France entered into twenty-nine, and the Conventions entered into by other countries were as follows: The German Empire (the German States had signed many prior to the creation of the Empire in 1871), 6; Belgium, 6; Bolivia, 6; Ecuador, 1; Spain, 7; Italy, 10; Luxembourg, 2; Mexico, 1; Holland, 3; Portugal, 4; Russia, 2; Salvador, 1; Sweden and Norway, 2; Switzerland, 5.

It is quite clear, therefore, from this statement that the source of international complication might become perennial as far as

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copyright protection was concerned, and the legal questions unsolvable. In order to meet the difficulty, the Swiss Government called an International Convention at Bern, on the 10th of September, 1884. The programme proposed by the Swiss Federal Council was exceedingly wide in scope, and contained suggestions of an International Agreement on an ample basis. But its ideals were too lofty, and many of the proposals were cut down in the final settlement of the question in 1886.

The Bern Convention, as it has been called, is an international treaty to which at the present date all the great civilized countries, with the exception of Austria-Hungary and the United States, have given their assent. Under its terms, any nation that joins the Union obtains protection for the works of its citizens in all other countries which have become signatories to the Convention. How wide this protection is, is clear from the list of the adherents; how wide is the property embraced is clear from Article 4, where the definition of the expression "Literary and Artistic Works" covers the following:

> "Books, pamphlets, and all other writings; dramatic or dramatico-musical works, musical compositions with or without words; works of design, painting, sculpture, and engraving; lithographs, illustrations, geographical charts; plans, sketches, and plastic works relative to geography, topography, architecture, or science in general; in fact, every production whatsoever in the literary, scientific, or artistic domain, which can be published by any mode of expression, or reproduction."

The enjoyment of these rights, however, cannot exist in other countries for a longer period than the term of protection granted in the country of origin.

In addition, under Article 5 protection is given to translations of these works for a period of ten years.

This was an enormous advance in the recognition of intellectual property, but it is to be regretted that the United States were not represented at the meeting at Bern, nor have they thought fit to join the Union since its formation.

To all those who have studied the expansion of literary property and the laws which bear on that property, it is quite clear that the literature of a country will increase in proportion to the measure of protection that is given to its authors. To a commercial mind like that of the United States, it should have been

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evident that the writer who could find a market not only in that country, but in the British Empire and in other countries of Europe, would be much more likely to adopt authorship as a profession, than the writer who had his market limited by the territory of his own country.

Although, however, the United States did not join the Convention, an Act was passed in 1891 which secured for its citizens a market in other countries. One of the Clauses of this Act runs as follows:

"That this Act shall only apply to a citizen or subject of a foreign state or nation, when such foreign state or nation permits to citizens of the United States of America the benefit of copyright on substantially the same basis as its own citizens; or when such foreign state or nation is a party to an international agreement which provides for reciprocity in the granting of copyright, by the terms of which agreement the United States of America may at its pleasure become a party to such an agreement. The existence of either of the conditions aforesaid shall be determined by the President of the United States by proclamation made, from time to time, as the purposes of this Act may require."

Before the passing of this Act, there were, no doubt, some half a dozen to a dozen American authors whose names were known all over the world; but, owing to the lack of international reciprocity, the United States had starved its own literature, and the public had fattened on the literature of other countries. This policy, bringing forward, as it did, by cheap printing and piracy the keenest competition in the trade, caused the publishers who spent their capital with unsparing hand, the authors whose property was involved and the intellectual minority to bring strong pressure on the Government and the Act above referred to accordingly became law.

What has been the result?

In spite of Mr. W. D. Howells's assertion to the contrary in the Christmas number of "Harper's Magazine," the names of United States authors known over Europe have increased at least fivefold, and the number of authors and those who are living by the profession of writing in the United States must have increased at least tenfold.

No sooner was the Act of 1891 passed than the President of the United States proceeded, under the rights conferred on him by the Act, to make the necessary proclamation, and in due time

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the United States were linked with the majority of civilized nations by a copyright arrangement.

Great Britain accepted the conditions, judging that half a loaf was better than no bread, and that it was better to get some protection—limited, though it was, by the restraints of simultaneous publication and typesetting in the United States—than to suffer a continuance of literary piracy. As far as Great Britain was concerned, however, there was no real reciprocity. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to draw attention to the fact that the authors of the United States benefited to a much larger extent than did British authors, as the former were handicapped only by the comparatively harmless essential of simultaneous publication.

That such was the case soon became clear; for, after the law had been in force ten years, there was a large and increasing number of writers in the United States whose works were read and copyrighted in Great Britain, whereas the number of British authors whose works were read in the United States, diminishing gradually from the days of piracy, resolved themselves into that select band whose works were sure of a commercial success on the day of publication. It is evident, however, that the United States Government, owing to the pressure brought to bear by the printing and other trades at the time of the passing of the law, robbed many of their own citizens of property they would otherwise have acquired, and the United States trade did not obtain the advantage which it considered certain to accrue, as many of the works which are now shipped over in sheets would, in the fulness of time, have been produced by United States printers and binders, if simultaneous publication had not been essential.

The same argument applies, of course, to nations whose citizens do not write in the English language, such as France, Italy, Spain, Germany, etc.; but they labor under a further disadvantage. It is this: The United States publisher does not care to set up for simultaneous publication a work in the original—that is, in French, Italian, Spanish, German and other languages—and the authors of those countries cannot, save in very exceptional circumstances, take upon themselves the expense and labor of translating their works, before publication in the country of origin, in order to meet the wishes of the publishers and obtain simultaneous publication in the United States. In consequence, the Act which has been of some slight benefit to Great Britain,

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her Colonies and Dependencies, was practically useless to other foreign countries.

The German authors, after watching the working of the arrangement for a period of ten years from the first passing of the Act, perceiving the enormous advantage and market obtained by the United States for its authors—typesetting was not essential for citizens of the United States—and the absence of any advantage whatever to the Germans, raised a cry against this inequality, and in conjunction with the trade petitioned their Government to withdraw from the United States treaty. Up to the present, however, no official action has been taken, chiefly owing to the energy of Mr. George Haven Putnam, who personally met the representatives of the centres of disaffection and persuaded them for the time not to push the matter further.

In the mean time, another effort was made by the well-wishers of fair dealing and intellectual enlightenment to get the Government of the United States to amend the existing Act in order to set the two contracting parties on a level. As it is possible that the text of the Amendment may not be universally known to the United States public, we need not apologize for quoting it in full.

"*An Act to Amend Section Forty-nine Hundred and Fifty-two of the Revised Statutes.*

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that Section Forty-nine Hundred and Fifty-two of the Revised Statutes be, and the same is hereby, amended so as to read as follows:

"'Sec. 4952. The author, inventor, designer, or proprietor of any book, map, chart, dramatic or musical composition, engraving, cut, print, or photograph, or negative thereof, or of a painting, drawing, chromo, statue, statuary, and of medals or designs intended to be perfected as works of the fine arts, and the executors, administrators, or assigns of any such person, shall, upon complying with the provisions of this chapter, have the sole liberty of printing, reprinting, publishing, completing, copying, executing, finishing, and vending the same; and, in the case of a dramatic composition, of publicly performing or representing it, or causing it to be performed or represented by others. And authors or their assigns shall have exclusive right to dramatize or translate any of their works for which copyright shall have been obtained under the laws of the United States.

"'Whenever the author or proprietor of a book in a foreign language, which shall be published in a foreign country, before the day of publication in this country, or his executors, administrators, or assigns, shall, within twelve months after the first publication of such book in a

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foreign country, obtain a copyright for a translation of such book in the English language, which shall be the first copyright in this country for a translation of such book, he and they shall have, during the term of such copyright, the sole liberty of printing, reprinting, publishing, vending, translating, and dramatizing the said book, and, in the case of a dramatic composition, of publicly performing the same, or of causing it to be performed or represented by others: Provided, That this Act shall only apply to a citizen or subject of a foreign state or nation when such foreign state or nation permits to citizens of the United States of America the ~~benefit of copyright on the same basis as is given to its citizens by this Act~~ *benefit of copyright on substantially the same basis as to its own citizens.*'"

This Bill passed the House of Representatives on December 14th, 1904.

It had already, in the early part of 1904, been before the House of Representatives, but had been withdrawn.

No sooner was it apparent that there was a good chance that the Bill would pass into law than an outcry was raised, in the columns of the London "Standard," by British authors who felt hurt and disappointed that the United States Government should give a larger scope and better terms to foreign nations than to writers in the English language. The outcry was supported by the names of some of the best authors in England. To show how general was the feeling it may be as well to quote in full the list of those who contributed to the correspondence: Right Hon. Lord Avebury, Robert Barr, Guy Boothby, Mrs. Mary Blundell, Mrs. Caffyn ("Iota"), Hall Caine, Mrs. W. K. Clifford, L. Cope Cornford, J. Beattie Crozier, Miss Sarah Doudney, Sir Arthur Doyle, Miss Ella Hepworth Dixon, Theodore Watts Dunton, G. Manville Fenn, Maxwell Gray, Edmund Gosse, Anstey Guthrie (F. Anstey), H. Rider Haggard, St. John Hankin, Miss Beatrice Harraden, Frederic Harrison, The Rev. Silas K. Hocking, Mrs. Humphreys ("Rita"), C. J. Cutcliffe Hyne, W. W. Jacobs, Andrew Lang, Henry Lucy, W. H. Mallock, Frank Mathew, Right Hon. Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bart., Mrs. L. T. Meade, F. Frankfort Moore, Sir Lewis Morris, Arthur Morrison, Eden Phillpotts, Mrs. Campbell Praed, R. E. Prothero, Mrs. Stepney Rawson, Miss May Sinclair, G. Bernard Shaw, Douglas Sladen, J. A. Steuart, F. Stroud, Alfred Sutro, Benj. Swift, Arthur Symons, H. A. Vachell, Stanley J. Weyman, Richard Whiteing, J. H. Yoxall.

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Lastly, the Committee of the Society of Authors of Great Britain, representing some 1,500 members, decided to take the matter up and consider the best course to be adopted.

The opinions set out by the writers whose names have been given cannot, or rather ought not to, pass disregarded.

The writers are unanimous on one point, that the present state of the law is unfair to the Britisher, but they have different methods of expression.

Many demand retaliation in order to obtain a real reciprocity. Others, in equal numbers, desire an appeal on the basis of simple justice. Again, the ancient dispute of Free Trade and Protection is dragged in; while one asserts that this is the real issue, others assert that it has nothing to do with it. The latter would appear to be the sounder opinion.

"The question of Free Trade *versus* Protection has nothing to do with the value of copyright," says Mr. Bernard Shaw; and again, "Let America give up her present childish arrangement and join the Convention (Bern). The steps, if any, to be taken to protect American and English printers from foreign competition are a separate matter."

Lord Avebury says: "What he (the originator of the correspondence) asks does not seem to me in any way a case of 'protection' in the technical sense."

Some consider that the simplest solution would be for the States to join the Bern Convention, whereas the majority would be content, for the present, with the twelve months' limit—and to be treated on a basis of equality with the foreigner.

Mr. Frank Mathew facetiously remarks: "It is a misfortune that our language is not quite foreign to them (the Americans). Perhaps they might be induced to allow us the privilege of foreigners."

All those who have studied the question know the warm support this contention receives from the intelligent judgment of the authors, the trade, and those interested in intellectual development and literary questions. They are in favor of a fairer reciprocity not only with Great Britain, but with all other countries; yet there are certain of the citizens of the United States so filled with the idea of Protection, and there are certain trades so blinded with the same idea, that they are bitterly opposed to anything which would be likely to savor of the opposite policy.

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Consider seriously, again, this fact—that, the wider the market which is given to any country, the greater will be the national literature that is produced. It follows, then, that, so far from losing, the United States will gain considerably by a change in their copyright law. The same argument will apply to the United States trades, which would not lose, but would, most probably, gain an immense amount of trade in printing and binding by giving their authors a larger scope, and the work of foreign authors greater freedom.

There is justice at the back of the British demand, as there is at the back of the claim of foreign nations. There is in addition a feeling of something more than pique that the English race should have been omitted from the proposed Amendment.

To join the Bern Convention is not difficult. To amend the Amendment is simplicity itself.

The main deduction that we would desire all citizens of the United States who are interested in the question to draw is, that all those nations whose tongue is not their tongue, enjoying—or, better, failing to enjoy—the advantages of the law, as it is, are openly and aggressively dissatisfied with it, while those who write in the English tongue, if not aggressively opposed, are passively resistant. We cannot imagine that any intelligent and cultivated citizen can sit down in smug contentment under this stigma, or chuckle to himself on a smart business deal. The protection of literature and art should be looked at from a higher standpoint, and even a commercial nation must rise to higher ideals.

It is useless, again, for the United States to say in excuse, "Oh, but no copyright law is perfect!" That is not the point; it is an issue outside the present argument. For a question of international equity should be taken from the level of mere party bickering to the level of political ethics.

It is not, again, as if there were any real difficulty in settling the question, for other nations did the yeoman service in 1886 and made the rough places smooth.

The Bern Convention awaits another adherent. The Parliament of Nations will greet the new member with cheers when he comes forward to take the oath of fellowship.

G. HERBERT THRING.

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REFORM IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

BY THE REV. C. A. BRIGGS, D.D., D. LITT., PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL THEOLOGY IN UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

MANY attempts have been made at reform in the Roman Catholic Church. Some of these have succeeded in part, others have failed. From a Protestant point of view, all these efforts have accomplished but little; the Roman Catholic Church remains essentially an unreformed Church. But history makes it evident that the ordinary Protestant opinion is erroneous. In fact, Protestantism has advanced so far beyond its original position that, even if all the reforms demanded by the original Protestant Reformers had been accomplished, the Protestants of the present day would still regard the Roman Catholic Church as unreformed. The history of that Church since the sixteenth century has been a history of reforms, and in no period have such great reforms been made as in the past half-century.

Leo XIII was certainly a reforming Pope; of a high moral character, a man of letters and of profound knowledge, firm in purpose but patient in spirit, broad-minded and tolerant, he left the Church, when he died, morally and intellectually much higher than when he succeeded Pius IX. But the present Pope, Pius X, promises to be a still greater reformer. He has already accomplished much in the few months of his pontificate; great reforms are in his mind, which ere long will become evident in fact.

Reforms in the Roman Catholic Church have usually begun in France or Germany, and have been resisted in Italy, and especially in Rome. Many reforming Popes have failed in their noble purposes owing to the stubborn opposition of the Roman Curia, whose interests were all in the perpetuation of their authority and privileges. The significance of the present movement

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is not only in the fact that the Pope himself is a reformer; but still more in that reform has begun in Italy, and most of all in Rome, and is promoted by members of the Curia itself.

A few weeks ago, there appeared a pamphlet, "*Pio X, Suoi Atti e Suoi Intendimenti.*" This was at once translated into French and German, and in all editions sold in many thousands so rapidly that it has been difficult to supply the demand. It was soon followed by another entitled, "*Questioni Politico-Religiose, dopo gli Atti ed Intendimenti di Pio X,*" which in some respects is a much stronger plea for reform. Another tract on the side of reform is "*Fiat Pax,*" which proposes that the Pope shall remove to Jerusalem, and make there the seat of his civil authority. The most recent pamphlet is entitled, "*Riforma! Nota Critico-Polemiche di un Sacerdote Romano.*" It reviews with keen criticism all the previous pamphlets, and advances the cause of reform, especially in the education of the clergy. As was to be expected, several replies have been made, the only important one, representing the party of privilege and obstruction, being that of the journal "*La Vera Roma,*" entitled, "*Il Papa è il Papa.*" Doubtless, a flood of controversial literature will burst forth from the press, now that the gates are open.

There can be no doubt that the Pope himself is at the head of the reform movement; but it would be improper to hold him responsible for all that these reforming pamphlets propose.

It is of great importance to understand the fundamental principle of reform in the words of the Pope himself, namely, "*Restaurare ogni cosa in Cristo,*" to make Jesus Christ Himself the centre and mainspring of all reform. This is exactly what the most enlightened Protestants desire for their own Churches; what more can they ask for the Church of Rome? The Christological movement has been, and still is, one of the strongest impulses of the past fifty years. It is of immense significance that the Roman Catholic Church, under the headship of the Pope, deliberately enters into, and takes part in, this world-wide movement. It is a common objection of Protestants to the Roman Catholic Church that it pushes Jesus Christ into the background, and that the popular religion is the worship of the Virgin and the Saints. This objection is not altogether valid; for the sacrifice of the Mass is the great central fact in the worship of the Church, where Jesus Christ Himself, in real, substantial bodily

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presence, reigns supreme, and is worshipped as God and Saviour. But it has been true in the Roman Catholic Church, as in the Protestant Churches, until recent years, and among Protestant theologians at the present time, that Jesus Christ has not held the central and dominant place in Christian doctrine and Christian life that is His due. The more advanced Protestant scholars have been working for half a century and more to lead Christians back to Jesus Christ, and have only partially succeeded. If now the Pope, as the head of the Roman Catholic Church, owing to the reverence and obedience given him by that whole Church as the successor of St. Peter and the living representative of our Lord, can succeed in raising up Catholics throughout the world to this exalted position of reforming everything in Christ, there will be ere long the greatest revival and reformation known to history, and the Protestant Churches will have to bestir themselves to keep pace with it.

The Pope has spent the greater part of his life as a Christian pastor, parish priest, bishop and patriarch of Venice; in each position honored for his piety and wisdom, and beloved for his gentleness, kindness and manifold acts of Christian love. There seems to be good evidence that he was chosen by the Cardinals because of these well-known virtues. The Church felt the need of a pious pastor more than anything else. Immediately on taking his position, Pius X acted as pastor, and began his reform in the sphere of religion. A great change is manifest in Rome. Some years ago, it was the common remark, how irreverent the priests, bishops, and especially the canons were, even in the solemn ceremonies of the Mass. American, English and German Catholics were as much shocked at this state of things as Protestants. The music in the principal churches was too ornate—better suited to a concert-hall or opera than a Christian church. All this has been changed. The services are reverent, the music is solemn and stately, and the ceremonies of the Catholic religion exhibit their grandeur and impressiveness. The applause and cries, "*Il papa re,*" grateful to Pius IX, and allowed by Leo XIII on grand occasions, when they appeared in St. Peter's, have been entirely suppressed. Nothing could be more impressive, during the solemn ceremonies of the Beatifications last autumn, than to see the Pope himself by a motion of his hand and a stern glance suppress the applause that his presence invoked from pilgrims.

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The Pope has done his very best during the few months of his pontificate to promote spirituality in the Church. He has himself set the example of preaching practical sermons, and thereby lifted the sermon to a new importance in Rome. He is determined to remove incompetent and worldly bishops, and to appoint men of a higher spiritual character to the vacant sees.

It is, indeed, this firm purpose of removing unworthy bishops that brought the Papacy into conflict with the French Government. There may be a question whether or not the Pope violated the Concordat; but there ought to be no question that the Pope was within his rights, as the chief pastor of the Church, when he undertook to call to account and to discipline bishops who were, by common report and by frequent complaints to Rome, unworthy of their sacred office. It is, indeed, just this that makes the struggle between the Church and the State so serious in France, that the Pope stands for the revival of spiritual religion in the French Church, and it is not at all a question of the Papal prerogative. It is difficult to see how the State can hope to win in such a warfare, when the Church is prepared to sacrifice all its property and civil rights, and to suffer persecution in defence of what Scotch Presbyterians, in a similar situation, called "the crown rights of Jesus Christ."

It is noteworthy that, in this reform movement, little if anything is said of Christian dogma. Many, both Protestants and Roman Catholics, think that dogma is the principal thing, that differences in dogma are the most important, and that reform in dogma should come first. A more thorough study of the sixteenth century makes it evident to historians that the division of the Western Church at the Reformation was not due so much to dogma as is commonly supposed. There were important dogmatic differences, which came into greater prominence after the separation had already taken place. But the princes and people who made the Reformation made it, not in the interest of dogma, but in the interest of freedom from the tyranny of Rome, and of the rights of the nations; and hence the immediate result was national religions, State Churches, all over the Protestant world, repudiating the supremacy of Rome. The most serious evils were —just what is evident in Russia to-day—autocracy, bureaucracy and the intrusion of the Curia into civil affairs.

As the Roman Curia refused to reform itself in these matters,

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the nations of Northern Europe took reform into their own hands, and, by separating from Rome, delivered themselves once for all from these evils so far as Rome was concerned, although each nation had to battle its own way to freedom against these same evils in the kings and princes who became little popes, in some respects worse than the Pope himself.

So far as dogma is concerned, the original Reformers repudiated the corrupt and hair-splitting Scholasticism of the fifteenth century, and fell back upon the Bible interpreted by Augustine and Jerome. All the original Reformers were high Augustinians, and they charged the Roman Catholic theologians with Semi-Pelagianism. They also fell back on Anselm's doctrine of the Atonement. It is a common error that they made the Scriptures alone their Rule of Faith. A more thorough study of the Bible has shown that the Reformers were, all of them, greatly mistaken in their interpretations. Protestant theology has, for the most part, abandoned the high Augustinianism of the Reformers. There are few high Augustinians in Europe; and in America they are not to be found, except in a few Theological Seminaries, and among their pupils. The common doctrine of the present Protestant theologians would not be recognized by any of the Reformers. The dogmatic differences with Rome either no longer really exist or are in different forms, and concerned with different questions.

In the mean while, the Roman Catholic Church has not remained stationary. The Council of Trent was a reforming council, and banished from the Church many vulgar errors and corrupt practices, against which the Reformers protested in the sixteenth century. The Roman Catholic Church has made, in recent years, two important dogmatic decisions—namely, the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, and the Infallibility of the Pope in faith and morals, when he speaks *ex cathedra* to the Catholic world. These were not new dogmas, but final decisions of mooted questions; the former deciding the contest between Franciscans and Dominicans; the latter defining the seat of the infallibility of the Church as being in the Papacy, rather than in Councils. The former decision was universally accepted in the Roman Catholic Church, and there are many Protestant theologians who think it an inevitable consequence of the doctrine of original sin. The latter was rejected by a small number of

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eminent scholars, who organized themselves as a separate body, called "Old Catholics," but they succeeded in detaching only a very small number of people from the Mother Church. Indeed, it was a purely academic question, whether infallibility is to be lodged in the Council or in the Pope. Many found it easier to believe in the infallibility of one official person, the head of the Church, than in the infallibility of a Council composed of a number of men moved by party interests and personal considerations, and whose decisions are made by a majority of votes, rather than by the most competent and intelligent voices. The Infallibility of the Pope, as defined by the Vatican Council, limits infallibility, and so hedges it with conditions that infallible decisions in the past are hard to find, and not likely to occur in the future except in great emergencies. The only infallible decision of a Pope in modern times, apart from a Council, has been that defining the Immaculate Conception. This is the consensus of opinion in Rome, and it is the decision of the Pope himself.

The Roman Catholic Church made a very important reform in dogma when Leo XIII directed that Thomas Aquinas should be used as the standard authority in all Roman Catholic colleges and seminaries, for thereby Theology was divested of the accretions of the so-called newer Scholasticism since the Reformation, and of the corrupt Scholasticism of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and Roman Catholic dogma was built upon the purest and best Scholasticism of Thomas Aquinas and his contemporary Bonaventura. This was a reform in dogma of incalculable importance. It is doubtful, to say the least, if there would have been such an antithesis between Protestant and Roman Catholic dogma if Thomas Aquinas had been the universal standard of doctrine in the sixteenth century.

The reforms proposed at the present time—apart from the religious reforms already considered—are ecclesiastical; and, first of all, of Canon Law, which, as interpreted by the Curia, determines all ecclesiastical affairs. Canon Law is an ocean so vast in extent, that it demands more time and attention to master it than all other branches of Christian Theology combined. Few are able even to swim in it. It is a heterogeneous mass of material, representing many centuries of legal development under the most varied circumstances, and capable of varied interpretations. An able Committee has already been appointed to reduce

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this material to a code of Ecclesiastical Law that will be rid of antiquated material, and be adapted to the present circumstances and conditions of the Church.

Next in importance to the reform of the Canon Law is the reform of the Curia, which interprets and applies the Canon Law in the government of the Church. The Curia is composed of a number of Congregations or Committees, among which are distributed all the interests of the Church. The members of these Congregations are Cardinals, Monsignori, members of religious orders, and occasionally other prelates and priests. These constitute the Papal family or court, and are the practical rulers of the Church; for, although everything of importance has to be approved by the Pope, yet it is impracticable for him to give personal attention to any but the most essential matters.

The decisions of these Congregations, even when approved by the Pope, are not infallible; yet they demand implicit obedience of all Catholics, even those of the highest rank. It is the interest of these Congregations to keep all power in their own hands; and, therefore, the Curia retains the power in the appointment of all bishops throughout the world; it deprives the bishops of their ancient rights of deciding important questions, and reserves to itself the determination of them. When one considers that a majority of the members of the Congregations are not only Italians but Romans, trained in the traditions of the Roman Curia, which is to a great extent self-perpetuating, and that few of them have much knowledge of the world outside of Italy, it is easy to see that all questions throughout the Roman Catholic world are determined from a Roman point of view, and in Roman interests. In civil affairs, Italians and Romans in modern times have not shown any remarkable ability. And yet these Romans think that they have the ability and genius to govern the Church throughout the world, and to govern it with absolute authority, demanding unquestioning obedience. As these reforming pamphlets most clearly show, these Congregations are antiquated in their formation and methods, heterogeneous in their membership, and torpid and inefficient in their action. When their members are carefully examined, it is often difficult to determine on what principle they have been selected, or what real qualifications they have for the all-important tasks brought before them. Not infrequently the same matter goes before two or three different Con-

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gregations, and it is said that even the Pope sometimes finds it impossible to fix responsibility for important decisions brought before him for his approval.

When one compares the Curia of Rome with the officials of the great modern States, it is in Russia alone that any such bureaucracy can be found.

How far a reconstruction of the Congregations may be carried out, it is impossible to say. Doubtless, there will be strong resistance against any effort to change traditional methods; but that changes will be made seems to be evident.

More to be desired than these formal changes in the Curia are the material ones. The Curia has for centuries employed usurped powers, and indeed in a tyrannic way. There is authority in Holy Scripture for a ministry of priests and deacons. There is authority in the ancient Church for bishops, parochial, diocesan and provincial, and even for the Pope, in the judgment of many historians. But the Roman Curia rests upon no other authority than that of the Popes. The members of the Curia have, strictly speaking, no ecclesiastical rights. They are simply officers of the Pope, and might be laymen. The reform that is needed above all is to put these officials into their proper place as servants of the Pope, and deprive them altogether of their usurped powers over the bishops of the Church. The officials of the Pope should be, like those of the best modern States, responsible servants, and not, like the Russian bureaucrats, irresponsible autocrats.

These Roman officials have long taken to themselves the highest honors of the Church. They no longer, as non-residents, hold the most lucrative positions all over the Roman Catholic world, as they did at the time of the Protestant Reformation. They no longer prey upon the whole Church by all kinds of imposts, fines and exactions, as they then did. They live in simple and comparatively inexpensive households at the present time. But it is probable, as these reforming pamphlets intimate, that there never was a time when titles of honor were so widely distributed. It now seems to be the exception that any of the officials, unless the members of monastic orders, should be without one. Pius IX delighted in ceremonies and in show. Leo XIII, though more literary in his tastes, was not ill-disposed towards grandeur. All this tended to increase the number of titled members of the

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Roman court. But Pius X is more simple-minded and seems to dislike unnecessary display. It is probable, therefore, that there will be a reform of the Papal court in this respect, and that hereafter honors will be more carefully bestowed. As has already been stated, the chief obstacles to reform at the Protestant Reformation were autocracy, bureaucracy and the intrusion of the Curia into civil affairs. The historical development of the modern States has gradually removed the worst of these evils, in spite of the Curia, by making them impossible. It would be unfair, however, not to recognize that a gradual and very important series of reforms have taken place in the Roman court itself. The autocracy of the Pope, while recognized in principle, is really much limited in fact; for, while in one sense the Pope cannot be said to be a constitutional monarch, in another sense he is; because, though he may under certain unusual circumstances make an infallible decision in faith and morals, he may not make any decision which contravenes any made by Popes and Councils in the past. The Pope and the Congregations are also limited by the Canon Law, which, while it needs reform, yet still, until reformed, determines all decisions. There is, however, still room for autocracy to be exercised in a most despotic way. There is little danger of it with the present Pope, but there was constant peril under Pius IX, and there may be under future Popes. It is difficult for American Protestants to understand why the Pope does not strengthen himself by summoning Christian Councils to meet at Rome at regular intervals. The entire Church needs representation at Rome, and ought to have it in regular assemblies of its chief representatives. This is much discussed in Rome, as elsewhere. Many objections are made from a practical point of view, but none of them seems to be valid. The Curia has always opposed Christian Councils, because they inevitably reduce the importance of these officials. But the Pope would find them a most valuable help in enabling him to reform the Curia and reduce it to its proper dimensions.

The intrusion of the Curia into civil affairs, which was the chief occasion of the Protestant Reformation, has been rendered more and more impossible by the Providence of God in History. The Protestant States refused the authority of the Curia altogether. The Catholic States won for themselves protection from its exactions by Concordats, or agreements, between the Pope and the

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monarchs. The civil State of the Pope, after centuries of conflict, has been taken from him once for all. It not only stood in the way of the Unity of Italy, but was also a constant temptation to sacrifice the interest of the Church, and the interest of other nations to that of the States of the Church. The only temporal power that the Pope can ever expect to have, is either a limited territory about the Vatican, like our District of Columbia, or a guarantee of independence of himself and his officials from civil control by Italy and the other Powers. It is folly to suppose that the Pope could ever establish himself permanently in Jerusalem, or on the Island of Malta, or anywhere else than in Rome.

The only difficulties that modern States have to contend with, so far as the claims of Rome are concerned, are in mixed questions which partly belong to the jurisdiction of the Church, and partly to the jurisdiction of the State, such as religious education, marriage and divorce. Neither Church nor State can yield its jurisdiction. The only solution that is possible is by friendly agreement. The practical difficulty is now, as it always has been, that the Roman Curia insists upon retaining the decisions of such questions in its own hands. The modern States are willing and desirous to determine these questions in accordance with the religious convictions of their own citizens, so far as these can be brought to agreement; but they are not willing, and will surely continue to decline, to negotiate with the Roman Curia, a foreign court, as regards questions of domestic interest. It is necessary that the Roman Curia should intrust all such questions to the Catholic bishops of the different countries, and suffer the bishops to adjust them in accordance with the special circumstances and conditions of their own nations.

It is too much to expect that all the difficult problems of reform will be solved at once. It will, doubtless, take years, and possibly generations. The path of reform may in many respects be different from that suggested in this article, and will probably be much better than any that has been proposed. It is, however, of the highest importance that the reform movement has been renewed with so much promise under a Pope of such spirituality, simplicity and open-mindedness; a man who impresses those admitted to his presence and converse as being possessed of unusual grasp of mind, insight and real moral power.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS BRIGGS.

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POLAND TO-DAY.

BY ROBERT ATTER.

POLAND presents to-day a distressing picture of chaos and disorder. The general disorganization in Russia is reflected here, intensified by the multifarious complexities of Polish national and patriotic questions. There seems to be a general bankruptcy of common sense. The governing authorities have completely lost their heads, capital has capitulated to labor, and Jews and Socialists appear to be at the head of affairs. Where it will all end, nobody knows. But the more thoughtful Poles fear that, whatever the outcome of the constitutional agitation in Russia, it is unlikely that their country will reap substantial gain.

Probably no country in Europe to-day affords a more interesting spectacle than the once great and powerful kingdom of Poland. Certainly no country presents more riddles, more paradoxes, more party divisions, more diversity of national character, more general and special complexities and complications than this one. It has been so from the beginning of her history. She was, at one and the same time, the most liberal nation and the most despotic, the most cultured and the most illiterate, the richest in patriots and in traitors, in great men and mean men.

Long before England had left off pulling out Jewish teeth, Poland tolerated the Hebrew. When England was torn by religious persecutions, Poland not only gave shelter to those who fled from the stormy times of Mary and Elizabeth, but treated them as her own sons. Their descendants have become Poles, but still retain traces of their English origin.

And yet Poland bought and sold slaves, long after England had decreed that every man born on British soil was free. Poland had a republican form of government with an elected King, and a Diet, yet one favorite's voice could turn the balance, and make

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light of the nation's will. Poland welcomed the Renaissance as no country in Europe welcomed it. While Erasmus was trying to make Englishmen learn Latin, every free-born Pole spoke and loved that tongue. A Polish monk, Copernicus, paved the way for Newton.

To-day ninety per cent. of the peasants, who form the bulk of Poland's population, can neither read nor write. The student puts politics before his text-books, and the rural clergy are little better than the farm laborers from whom they spring. Poland's sons have ever been of the essence of patriotism. They have frozen in Siberian snows, and become blind in Siberian mines, for love of country. Yet there were those among them who sold the nation's birthright for Russian gold, or Russian titles. They put their land under the yoke of a people steeped in barbarism long centuries after Poland had enjoyed the culture of civilization. These spoiled her museums, burned her libraries, turned her palaces into shambles, razed her manors to the ground, and did everything they could to stamp out the culture which they were too ignorant to understand, and could only envy.

But, after a hundred years of slavery, after four generations of brutal repression, Polish culture still holds its own among the Slav nations. And not amongst them alone. Polish names stand high in the world's list of great men, musicians and painters, men of letters and men of science. As a nation, the Poles are broad-minded, intelligent and gifted, and still with all their gifts they are probably the most unhappy people in Europe. For they are under the yoke of the most corrupt government in the world. They are without friends among the nations. Their land has been partitioned and repartitioned by various Powers, whilst the world looked on with indifference, or used Poland's misfortunes to further its own selfish ends.

Now, what is the cause of Poland's misfortune? What is that radical fault in the national character which has left the nation bereft of all but memories? The answer is simple. Lack of solidarity. With all their high intelligence and rare mental gifts, the Poles never understood the real meaning of the word "politics." They never knew what it meant to present an unbroken front abroad, and to preserve a nice balance of power at home. With regret must it not also be said that too often they have not kept faith with one another? Bismarck once cynically

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remarked: "When two Poles meet, there are two conspirators, with a traitor thrown in."

Such a nation must come to grief, and, moreover, can never reestablish its independence until it has learned the bitter lesson which centuries of misfortune have so far failed to teach. Whether Poland will ever learn it is a matter of speculation, and the turn events have recently taken leaves room for grave doubts. In fact, there are those who, knowing the country well, foresee a new revolution, a revolution of Pole against Pole, peasant against squire, and the Hebrew against them all.

Nine-tenths of the population of Poland is made up of the lower classes. Of the remainder, nine-tenths belong to the professional classes, and the other ten per cent., or one per cent. of the whole population, form the aristocracy. The bulk of these, who are large landowners, usually hold aloof from politics, except when they urge a conciliatory policy towards Russia. On the one hand, they are fearful of losing their estates by Russian confiscation, and, on the other hand, they have long realized that there is no hope of reestablishing an independent Polish Kingdom.

The Polish aristocracy is not exactly a model class. Many years of Russian oppression seem to have destroyed their capacity for either good or evil. The young have lost ambition and even the capacity for enjoyment. The men have grown effeminate and the women trivial. Both prefer to spend their time and money abroad, where nothing reminds them of the restrictions they have not the power to throw off, and are fast losing the energy to hate. They have, in a word, grown used to bondage.

Nevertheless, a party, never popular and now abhorred, sprang from this class in 1897. It is called "Ugodovcy," a word meaning Conciliation. Its object was to bring about a more friendly feeling between the Poles and the Russians, in the hope of obtaining certain reforms and concessions from the imperial government at St. Petersburg. Such a party was, however, doomed from its birth. The patriots looked upon the "Conciliatories" as little better than traitors, whilst the Socialists and Democrats hated them because of their rank. It is only fair to say that many honorable names were on their list of members; notably Sienkiewicz, the distinguished author of "*Quo Vadis*," who, however, has long since left them.

The party struck its own death-blow last autumn, by sending

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a memorial to Prince Mirski, then Russian Minister of the Interior, couched in sycophantic language, denouncing its patriotic countrymen, and describing the time as the most fitting for cementing friendship between Pole and Russian. As this document was signed by only twenty-three members of the Conciliatory party, it could scarcely be regarded as a very representative national manifesto. Its publication, nevertheless, aroused such popular indignation that many of the signatories have since tried to disassociate themselves from the memorial. To-day the "Ugodovcy" has practically lost any little influence it ever had. For, although the average well-to-do Pole no longer believes in revolution, he has no friendly feelings for the Russians.

The professional classes, the so-called "intellectuals," probably may be divided best into two classes, Socialists and Patriots, or the National Polish League. The relative strength and positions of the various Polish parties have recently undergone radical changes, and to-day the Socialists have certainly become the most powerful and the most prominent. Their programme, as drawn up at the recent Barristers' Congress in St. Petersburg, is a sufficiently comprehensive one. It includes the organization of a huge propaganda in Russia, with the view of developing the political education of the nation; the employment of active force against arbitrary administration; and preparation for a revolution.

Probably ninety per cent. of the Jews, students, lawyers, doctors and literary men in Poland, are now joined to the Socialists. While many of them call themselves Patriots, they are in the closest touch with the Russian Socialists. The responsibility for the peasant agitation and the school strike rests upon them.

The second party, the Patriots or "Reds," are simply aghast at the turn affairs have taken, and are trying in vain to stem the tide of Socialism, by issuing proclamations urging everybody to keep the peace. The small landowners, who are very numerous, belong to this party, and form really the patriotic nucleus in the country, holding aloof from the Russians, and keeping up their old Polish traditions as well as present conditions permit. These "squireens" are the backbone of the Polish nation, and, if the Socialists had not got hold of the peasants, could have done much in keeping things together.

No proper estimate of the forces at work in Poland at the present time can be formed without taking into account the Jews.

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They constitute, perhaps, the most important party in Polish politics. There are two classes of Jews, the Orthodox, and those who have left their ancient faith and have been baptized. Part of these latter belong to the Patriotic party, and part are neutral, the majority apparently preferring to await the development of events. But the Jews proper make up a power which has to be reckoned with. They are the backbone of the Socialist movement, which is behind all the present agitation. The "Bund," as the organization of Jewish Socialists is called, is the strongest, wealthiest and most influential of all these societies. It is generally believed to include most of what may be termed the "bomb-throwing" element, or party of violence, and its preference for such methods, coupled with the strong position it has attained, causes much anxiety among the old patriots, who see nothing but destruction ahead if Socialism gains more ground.

The predominant rôle which the "Bund," aided by the Russian revolutionaries, is playing, especially in the perpetration of deeds of violence, is beginning to arouse the indignation of the Poles, who assert that, as a nation, they are peaceably disposed, and averse to wanton bloodshed. They do not relish the "bomb" methods, feeling that such a course can only result in ultimate harm to their national cause. Hence a distinct anti-Semitic sentiment is slowly manifesting itself, which, if fanned by the Russian officials after their usual skilful manner, may have very disastrous ends. It is possible that the Patriots, and even a few of the milder Socialists, will join and turn the whole movement into an anti-Semitic demonstration such as took place in 1877, when political ferments ended in the Jewish quarter of Warsaw being sacked and the Jews having to flee from Russian soldiers and Polish populace alike. Russia, true to her policy, did not choose to interfere. But, should the revolutionary party in Russia overthrow the present government, which it is generally believed here will be the case, this anti-Semitic feeling will come to a head much sooner, as even the most democratic and advanced revolutionary party in Russia is not likely to grant Poland all her demands. The opinions recently expressed in the most liberal Russian journals, on the question of giving concessions in the use of the Polish language in schools, plainly show the truth of this view. The Poles may then turn on the Jews as the authors of all the mischief.

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The Jews themselves appear to realize the danger of something of this kind happening, and are already adopting a less obtrusive attitude. The "Bund," in a secret manifesto addressed to its members and supporters on the eve of the Russian Easter, exhorted them to refrain from organizing or participating in any First of May demonstrations, lest they provoke anti-Semitic reprisals. And this at a moment when other Socialist bodies, such as the Democratic Socialist party of Poland and Lithuania, and the Polish party of Socialists, were issuing manifestoes calling upon all working-men to cease work on the First of May, as a protest against the existing order of things.

As to Polish demands, their name is legion, for each party has its own aims, as much at variance with the others as with the Russian government itself. We have the indifferent upper classes, loving ease, and hating Socialism; we have the "Conciliatories," denouncing the patriots, and advocating union with Russian autocracy; we have the "squireens" and "patriotic intellectuals," crying shame on aristocrat, Conciliatory and Socialist alike, and dreaming of a Polish King, and a Catholic University; we have the "Socialistic Intellectuals," a power in the land, inciting workmen and peasant against Church, King and capitalist, and striving to build up a democratic constitution, with the help of Russian revolutionists. And, worst of all, we have the downtrodden Hebrew, who, having cast in his lot with Socialism, is anxiously awaiting the result.

Before considering the recent strikes and disorders in Poland, it might be well to look at the general state of the country, and, first, with regard to education. There are 82 per cent. of "illiterates" in Poland, as compared with 65 per cent. in Central Russia, and 5 per cent. in the Baltic provinces. The estimated annual increase of illiterates is 1.2 per cent. in the towns, and 1.7 per cent. in the country districts. Only 4 per cent. of the peasants finish the very meagre course of education given in the elementary schools. Warsaw, the only university in Poland, has but one thousand students for a country of nearly 11,000,000 people. This university is considered to be the worst in Russia, only the poorest class of professors being willing to teach there.

Altogether, educational affairs in Poland are, perhaps, as bad as they well can be. There is a deplorable lack of school accommodation. It is often impossible to get children into the schools

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at all, without bribing the officials; and, what is even worse, the professors must in many cases be bribed also, to permit the pupils to pass their examinations, which they must do to enter the university, or the government service, and also to be able to serve the short term as volunteers in the army, instead of the usual three or four years of conscription.

There are some ten millions of Poles resident in Russian Poland, nine-tenths of whom belong to the so-called lower classes. Of these, roughly speaking, seven millions are peasants living on the land, and two millions are artisans and unskilled laborers in the cities and towns.

The lot of neither town nor country worker is a particularly happy one. Coming to the more numerous class first, the peasant laborer, we find that in many respects his life is that of a slave. Summer and winter alike, he toils from morning to night for a scanty pittance, lives in quarters scarcely fit for cattle, and subsists upon a diet consisting chiefly of potatoes.

Of the 7,000,000 peasants in Poland, 3,000,000 are without land, a condition which has led in many parts of the country to agrarian disturbances. As a reward for their loyalty in 1863, the Russian government made somewhat vague and indefinite promises of a land distribution among the peasants, which as usual were never carried out. The awakening intelligence of the peasants is beginning to find out that they have been duped by the Russian bureaucracy, and they are now lending a willing ear to the Socialist agitators, who are everywhere in the rural districts.

Except as regards the unskilled laborer, the condition of the working classes in the towns is better than that of the peasant. In many trades, the wages earned by skilled artisans are fairly good, and would compare not unfavorably with those paid in England. But the conditions under which even the families of the skilled workmen are forced to live leave much to be desired. Artisans' dwellings are unknown, rents are high and the accommodation provided is miserable. For a single room only, the workman must pay in Warsaw ten rubles ($5) a month, and, if he wants a kitchen as well, it will cost another four rubles ($2) or so. It can easily be imagined, therefore, that the lot of the common unskilled laborer in Poland is a hard one. He may earn anywhere from sixty to ninety copecks a day (thirty to forty-five cents), little enough upon which to support a wife and family.

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Three or four families of this class herd together in one room, in houses where the sanitary conditions are indescribable. When in Lodz, the so-called Manchester of Russia, I was assured that as many as eighteen people, adults and children, had been found living in a single room. That town, with nearly 400,000 inhabitants, has no water-supply, each house being dependent upon its own artesian well. Small wonder that under such conditions the rate of infant mortality is terribly high! These people live on a starvation diet, consisting chiefly of very weak tea and bread, with small quantities of fat bacon, herrings, potatoes or cabbage. On Sundays they may have a small piece of meat.

Existing under such conditions, it is not remarkable that, when the labor strikes began, they should have spread with such rapidity throughout the country. There is much mystery surrounding the actual inception of the strikes and the skilful management of the whole agitation. Everybody declares the Jews were at the bottom of it, but nobody seems to have been able to discover who the real leaders were, and whether they were in Austria, Germany or elsewhere. Strike funds were provided; but the strikers, who received the daily allowance of ten copecks, did not know themselves where the money came from. The whole movement was wonderfully well organized, and from the strikers' standpoint, at least, was in most instances brought to a successful conclusion. It was of an extraordinarily complex character, as may be gathered from the fact that there were no less than five separate and distinct strikes going on at the same time.

First, there were those in the cities and manufacturing centres, which were industrial and economic struggles. Second, there were the peasants, who wanted higher wages, better conditions of life, and to be permitted to use the Polish language in local government affairs. Third, there were the peasants in Southeastern Poland demanding land, whose agitation was mainly directed against the great estate-owners. Fourth, there were the peasants on the Lithuanian border, whose demands were a mixture of the two foregoing classes. Fifth, the educational and school strike against the Russification policy of the Tsar's government.

The peasants' agitation is still going on, and it is not yet possible to see what concessions the men will gain. In the cities and towns, however, the strikers may be said to have won all along the line. Many of these classes certainly deserved to gain some-

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thing, as wages had not been increased for many years, although meanwhile the cost of living had advanced considerably.

The school strike differs from all the other strikes in Poland, as being the only actual strike directed against the Russian government. All the other various strikes had economic or Socialist foundations, and had little or nothing to do with the imperial government. The school strike is ostensibly a protest against the Russification of Poland, by the compulsory use of Russian in the Polish schools for all subjects except religion.

As a matter of fact, in this instance the grievances of the Poles are to some extent imaginary, as the Polish language and literature are really taught in Polish, and the pupils talk freely among themselves in that language during school hours, although by the Imperial Ukase of 1864 these things are expressly forbidden. It is the fashion at the present time, doubtless from patriotic motives, to declare that the school authorities rigorously enforce these rules, but in truth they do not.

The leaders of the strike, who, by the way, are all Socialists, demanded that the schools should be closed until the language concessions were granted, and the authorities immediately complied, probably because it suited their own plans. All the preparations for the strike were made quite openly, and the officials could easily have stopped the movement in its inception had they wanted to do so.

The more thoughtful Polish parents are now beginning to question the wisdom of having supported such a strike, which has resulted in their children having an indefinite release from study, which may have a very injurious effect upon their future. Naturally enough, the boys, and girls too, are delighted to have no lessons, and much prefer talking revolutionary politics, and holding secret meetings at each other's homes. Meanwhile, the Russian authorities are probably not greatly distressed over the unlimited holiday which the youth of Poland is now enjoying, with the consequent injury to Polish culture.

The commercial outlook at this moment is both discouraging and uncertain. The strikes have wrought a disastrous effect upon the industrial situation. The market in the Far East, which it was hoped would grow in importance, is probably lost forever, as it now appears certain Manchuria will pass from Russian possession. Even should it be made an open market, the Polish

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industries would have no chance against the Japanese, owing to the great distance and the loss of their high protective advantages.

The labor situation will probably be further depressed when the war is ended by the return of a large number of soldiers to civil life, and it will certainly be a long time before business resumes its normal condition. Unless there come with the return of peace a great industrial revival, affairs are likely to become much worse.

The industrial strikes were settled upon most unsatisfactory conditions, which cannot possibly endure long. In nearly every instance, the employers simply capitulated absolutely to all the demands of their workmen, no matter how unreasonable or even foolishly stupid they were. They did not do so voluntarily, but only under the severest pressure of the authorities, who were so greatly alarmed at the prospect of renewed disturbances that they completely lost their heads, and insisted upon the manufacturers yielding everything in order to end the strikes, and thereby secure the restoration of public order. As regards the pernicious and far-reaching effect of such action, the officials either never thought or perhaps more probably never cared. But it has opened the door for all manner of future troubles.

Strikes were practically unknown in Poland before. Occasionally, one was reported here and there, but it was speedily and sternly suppressed. Now the workmen have gained some idea of their power. They have seen that they can get even the most unreasonable concessions if they strike, and that the authorities will not interfere unless peace is disturbed. The workmen will not be slow to maintain this advantage, and shrewd business men foresee that strikes will play a prominent part in the future relations between labor and capital.

With regard to the higher wages granted to the strikers, it is to be observed that, where the cost of labor is only an insignificant part of the cost of manufacture, this is not so important; but, where the cost of labor enters very largely into the cost of manufacture, it is a very different matter, and the question becomes very serious.

Even though bolstered up with a high protective tariff, the Russian manufacturer finds it very difficult to meet foreign competition, and, in fact, can only do so when his prices are much lower, as the superiority of the foreign-made article is marked.

When the present crisis is over, it will be interesting to note

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how far the Jews have been responsible for drawing the Poles into Socialism, and also what Russian influences have been at work. Hasty observers frequently accuse the Tsar's government of stupidity in its governance of Poland. This depends, however, on the point of view.

Russia has studied the Poles as they have never been at the pains to study themselves; and, as a result, the St. Petersburg government has adopted the method, so successfully practised by the Sultan in Macedonia, of setting race against race—or, rather, in this instance, class against class. In 1863, when the fate of Poland was hanging in the balance, Russia played off the peasant against the landowner, and the rebellion was suppressed.

In 1905, when Russia is weak, and a well-organized patriotic movement in Poland would be more than inconvenient, Russia plays the Socialist card, and the danger, for the time at least, is averted. Poland, torn by internal bickerings, ceases to be a menace to the imperial government of the Tsar. The patriot tries in vain to stem the tide of Socialism; the peasant, encouraged by the student, regards the squire as a usurper; whilst the Hebrew is busily engaged upon a plan of campaign, in which he will be certain to gain something, no matter who loses.

Meanwhile, the Russian official, always eager to show the difficulties and dangers surrounding his post in hostile Poland, sends voluminous reports to St. Petersburg telling of the unsettled state of the country, and the absolute futility of attempting to introduce reforms or to grant the Poles any concessions.

Such is the state of Poland to-day, split up into innumerable factions, her trade and commerce well-nigh ruined, demoralized by a century of bondage, and finally in danger of falling a prey to Socialistic schemes, founded by the Hebrews, and furthered by the Russians.

An unfortunate country indeed! Will she ever be more blessed? Will she ever learn the lessons that years of misfortune have so far failed to teach her, the lessons of brotherhood and solidarity, of energy and perseverance?

Time alone can answer.

ROBERT ATTER.

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FRANZ LISZT AND HIS CAROLYNE.

BY GUSTAV KOBBÉ.

In the famous Wagner-Liszt correspondence, Liszt writes to Wagner from Weimar, under date of April 8th, 1853, "Daily the Princess greets me with the lines '*Nicht Gut, noch Geld, noch Göttliche Pracht.*'" The lines are from "Götterdämmerung," the whole passage being:

> "Nor goods, nor gold, nor godlike splendor;
> Nor house, nor home, nor lordly show;
> Nor shadowy trust of treacherous contracts;
> Nor the fast law of hypocrite custom;
> Blessed, in joy and sorrow,
> Let love alone be."

The lady, who according to Liszt daily greeted him with these significant lines, was the Princess Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein. Since 1848, she and her young daughter, Marie, had been living with Liszt at the Altenburg in Weimar. She remained there until 1860, twelve years, when she went to Rome, whither, in due time, Liszt followed her, to make the Eternal City one of his homes for the rest of his life. His last letter to her is dated July 6, 1886, the year and month of his death, so that for a period of nearly forty years he enjoyed the personal and intellectual companionship of this remarkable woman. Their relations form one of the great love romances of the last century.

Liszt's letters to the Princess, written in French and still untranslated, are in four volumes, the final one of which was published about three years ago. They were given out by the Princess's daughter, Princess Marie Hohenlohe, as a tribute to Liszt as a musician and as a man. They teem with references to his musical activities—information regarding the numerous celebrities with whom he was intimate, the musicians he aided, his own

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great works. But their rarest charm to me lies in the fact that, from them, the careful reader can glean the whole story of the romance of Liszt and Carolyne, from its very beginnings to his death.

We know the fascinating male figure in this romance—the extraordinary combination of unapproached *virtuoso,* great composer and man of the world; but who was the equally fascinating woman? Carolyne von Iwanowska was born near Kiew, Russian Poland, in February, 1819. When she still was young, her parents separated and she divided her time between them. Her mother possessed marked social graces, travelled much, was a favorite at many courts, and, as a pupil of Rossini's in singing, was admired by Spontini and Meyerbeer, and was sought after in the most select salons, including that of Metternich, the Austrian chancellor. From her, Carolyne inherited her charm of manner.

Intellectually, however, Carolyne was wholly her father's child; and he was her favorite parent. He was a wealthy landed proprietor, and in the administration of his estates he frequently consulted her. Moreover, he had an active, studious mind, and he found in her an interested companion in his pursuits. Often they sat up until late into the night discussing various questions and—smoking strong cigars.

In 1836, her hand was asked in marriage by Prince Nicolaus von Sayn-Wittgenstein. She thrice refused, but finally accepted him at her father's instigation. The prince was a handsome man, but otherwise commonplace, and not at all the husband for this charming, mentally alert and finely strung woman. The one happiness that came to her through this marriage was her daughter Marie.

Liszt came to Kiew on a concert tour in February, 1847. He first announced a charity concert, for which he received a contribution of a hundred rubles from Princess Carolyne. The gift surprised him, for she had been described to him as a miserly and peculiar person. He called on her to thank her, found her a brilliant conversationalist, was charmed with her in every way, and concluded that what the gossips considered peculiarities were merely the evidences of an original and positive mentality. Upon the woman, who was in revolt against the restraints of an unhappy married life, Liszt, from whose eyes shone the divine spark, who was *au fait* in the salon as at the piano, and who already had

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been worshipped by a long succession of women, made a deep impression. Thus were these two drawn to each other at this very first meeting.

When, a little later, Liszt took Princess Carolyne into his confidence regarding his ambition to devote more time to composition, and communicated to her his idea of composing a symphony on Dante's "Divine Comedy" with scenic illustrations, she offered to pay the 20,000 thalers which these would cost. Liszt subsequently changed his mind regarding the need of scenery in his "Dante," but the Princess's generous offer increased his admiration for her. It was a tribute to himself as well as to his art, and an expression of her confidence in his genius as a composer (then shared by but few) which could not fail to touch him deeply. It at once created a bond of artistic and personal sympathy between them. She was carried away by his playing, and the programme of his first concert which she attended was treasured by her and was found among her possessions, after her death, forty years later, by her daughter.

If it was not love at first sight between these two, it must have been nearly that. Liszt came to Kiew in February, 1847. During the same month, she invited him to visit her at one of her country-seats, Woronince. Brief correspondence already had passed between them. To his fifth note he adds, as a postscript: "I am in the best of humor . . . and find, now that the world contains Woronince, that the world is good, very good!"

The great pianist continued his tour to Constantinople. When he writes to the Princess from there, he already "is at her feet." Later in the same year, he is hers "heart and soul." Early the following year, he quotes for her these lines from "Paradise Lost,"

> "For contemplation he, and valor formed,
> For softness she, and sweet attractive grace;
> He for God only, she for God in him!"

She presents him with a baton set with jewels; he writes to her about the first concert at which he will use it. He transcribes Schubert's lovely song, "My sweet Repose, My Peace art Thou," and tells her that he can play it only for her. At the same time, their letters to each other are filled with references to public affairs, literary, artistic and musical matters. They are the let-

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ters of two people of broad and cultivated taste—who are drawn to each other by every bond of intellect and sentiment. Is it a wonder that, but little more than a year after they met, the Princess decided to burn her bridges behind her and leave her husband? Through his friend, Prince Felix Lichnowsky, Liszt arranged that they should meet at Krzyzanowitz, one of the Lichnowsky country-seats in Austrian Silesia.

It was shortly before the revolution of '48. To gain permission to cross the border, the Princess pretended to be bound for Carlsbad for the waters. Liszt's valet met her and her daughter, as soon as they were out of Russia, and took them to Ratibor, where they were received by Lichnowsky and by him conducted to Liszt. After a few days at this place of meeting, they went to Gräz, where they spent a fortnight in another of the Lichnowsky villas. Among the miscellaneous correspondence of Liszt is a letter dated at Gräz to his friend, Franz von Schober, councillor of legation at Weimar, where Liszt was settled as court conductor.

"She is without doubt an uncommon and thoroughly brilliant example of soul and mind and intelligence (with a prodigious amount of *esprit* as well)," he writes to von Schober anent the Princess. "You readily will understand," he adds, "that henceforth I can dream very little of personal ambition and of a future wrapped up in myself. In political relations serfdom may have an end, but the dominion of one soul over another in the domain of the spiritual, should that not remain indestructible?" Liszt's prophetic soul! Thereafter his life was shaped by this extraordinary woman, for weal and, it must be confessed, for reasons which will appear later, partly for woe.

The Grandduchess of Weimar took the Princess under her protection and she settled there in the Altenburg, while Liszt lived in the Hotel zum Erbprinzen. Many tender missives passed between them. "*Bon jour, mon bon ange!*" writes Liszt. "*On vous aime et vous adore du matin au soir et du soir au matin.*" "*On vous attend et vous bénit, chère douce lumière de mon âme!*" "*Je suis triste comme toujours et toutes les fois que je n'entends pas votre voix—que je ne regarde pas vos yeux.*"

One of the billets relates to an incident that has become historic. Wagner had been obliged, because of his participation in the revolution, to flee from Dresden. He sought refuge with Liszt in Weimar, but, learning that the Saxon authorities were seeking

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his apprehension, decided to continue his flight to Switzerland. He was without means and, at the moment, Liszt, too, was out of funds. In this extremity, Liszt despatched a few lines to the Princess. "Can you send me by bearer sixty thalers? Wagner is obliged to flee, and I am unable at present to come to his aid. *Bonne et heureuse nuit.*" The money was forthcoming, and Wagner owed his safety to the Princess. It was a "*bonne et heureuse nuit*" for him. This is but one instance in which, at Liszt's instigation, the Princess was the good fairy of poor musicians.

About a year after the Princess settled in the Altenburg, Liszt too took up his residence there. From that time until they left it, it was the Mecca of musical Europe. Thither came von Bülow and Rubinstein, then young men; Joachim and Wieniawski; Brahms, on his way to Schumann, who, as the result of this visit from Brahms, wrote the famous article hailing him as the coming Messiah of music; Berlioz, and many, many others. The Altenburg was the headquarters of the Wagner propaganda. From there to Wagner, during the darkest hours of his exile and poverty, went material and artistic comfort.

Wendelin Weissheimer, a German orchestral leader, a friend of Liszt and Wagner, and of many other notable musicians of his day, has given in his reminiscences (which should have been translated long ago) a delightful glimpse of life at the Altenburg. He describes a dinner at which von Bronsart, the composer, and Count Laurencin, the musical writer, were the other guests. At table the Princess did the honors "most graciously," and her "divinity," Franz Liszt, was in "buoyant spirits." After the champagne, the company rose and went up-stairs to the smoking-room and music salon, which formed one apartment, "for, with Liszt, smoking and music-making were, on such occasions, inseparable." One touch in Weissheimer's description recalls the Princess's early acquired habit of smoking.

"He (Liszt) always had excellent Havanas, of unusual length, ready, and they were passed around with the coffee. The Princess also had come up-stairs. When Liszt took his place at one of the two pianos, she drew an armchair close up to it and seated herself expectantly, also with one of the long Havanas in her mouth and pulling at it delectably. We others, too, drew up near Liszt, who had the manuscript of his 'Faust' symphony open before him. Of course, he played the whole orchestra; of

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course, the way in which he did it was indescribable; and, of course, we all were in the highest state of exaltation. After the glorious 'Gretchen' division of the symphony, the Princess sprang up from the armchair, caught hold of Liszt and kissed him so fervently that we all were deeply moved. (In the interim her long Havana had gone out.)"

The years which Liszt passed with the Princess at the Altenburg, and when he was most directly under her influence, were the most glorious in his career. Besides the "Faust" symphony, he composed during this period the twelve symphonic poems, thus originating a new and highly important musical form, which may be said to bear the same relation to the set symphony that music-drama does to opera; the "Rhapsodies Hongroises," his piano sonata and concertos; the "Graner Messe"; and the beginnings of his "Christus" and "Legend of the Holy Elizabeth." The Princess ordered the household arrangements in such a way that the composer should not be disturbed in his work. No one was admitted to him without her visé, she attended to the voluminous correspondence, which, with a man of so much natural courtesy as Liszt, would otherwise have occupied an enormous amount of his time. He was the acknowledged head of the Wagner movement, at that time regarded as nothing short of revolutionary; he was looked upon as the friend of all progressive propaganda in his art; to play for Liszt, to have his opinion on performance or composition, was the ambition of every musical celebrity, or would-be one; his cooperation in innumerable concerts and music festivals was sought for. His was a name to conjure with. Between him and such assaults on his almost proverbial kindness stood the Princess, and the list of his great musical productions during this period, to say nothing of his literary work, like the rhapsody on Chopin, is the tale of what the world owes her for her devotion.

The relations between Liszt and the Princess were frankly acknowledged and by the world as frankly accepted, as if they were two exceptional beings in whom one could pardon things which, in the case of ordinary mortals, would mean social ostracism. The nearest approach to the situation was that of George Eliot and Lewes. But, with Liszt and his Princess, the world, possibly after the fashion of the Continent, was far more lenient, and their lives in their outward aspects were far more brilliant. No shining light in literature, music, art or science passed through

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Weimar, or came near it, without being drawn to the Altenburg as by a magnet. There seems to have been within its walls an almost uninterrupted intellectual revel—to use a trite expression, which here is most apt, a steady feast of reason and flow of soul. The sojourn of Liszt and the Princess in the Altenburg was a "golden period" for Weimar, a revival of the time when Goethe lived there and reflected his glory upon it.

And yet—convention is the result of the concentrated essence of the experience of ages; and no one seems able to break through it without the effort leaving a scar. It cast its shadow even over the life at the Altenburg. There remained one great longing to the Princess, the non-fulfilment of which was as a void in her soul. She yearned to bear the name of the man she adored. During the twelve years of their Weimar sojourn she battled for it, but in vain. Then she transferred the battle-field to Rome.

Her husband, a Protestant, had found no difficulty in securing a divorce from her. She was an ardent Roman Catholic, and the church stood in her way, her own relatives, who had been scandalized at her flight, being active in invoking its opposition. She went to Rome in the spring of 1860, to press her suit herself at the very centre of churchly authority. Liszt remained in Weimar awaiting word from her. It took her more than a year to secure the Papal sanction. Then, when everything seemed auspiciously settled and her marriage with Liszt a certainty, her enthusiasm led her to take a step, which, at the very last moment, proved fatal to her long-cherished hope.

Had she returned at once to Weimar, her union with Liszt undoubtedly would have taken place. But no. In her joy, she went a step too far. In Rome, there where the marriage had been interdicted, there where she had successfully overcome opposition to it, there she was bound it should take place. Her triumph should be complete.

Liszt was sent for. His last two letters to her before their meeting in Rome are dated from Marseilles, in October, 1861. The marriage was to take place on October 22nd, his fiftieth birthday. He writes to her from the Hôtel des Empereurs, that he himself is "*plus heureux que tous les empereurs du monde!*" and again "*Mon long exil va finir.*"—And yet it was only just beginning!

He arrived in Rome on October 20th. All arrangements for

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the ceremony in the San Carlo al Corso, on the 22nd, had been made. Then, by a strange fatality, it chanced that several of the Princess's relations, who were most bitter against her, entered upon the scene. Of all times, they happened to be in Rome at this critical moment, and, getting wind of the impending marriage, they entered a violent protest. When, on the evening of the 21st, Liszt was visiting the Princess, a Papal messenger called and announced that His Holiness had decided to forbid the ceremony until he could look into the matter more fully, and requested from her a resubmission of the documents bearing on the case.

To the Princess, then on the threshold of realizing her most cherished hopes, this was the last stroke. Her overwrought nature saw in it a judgment of heaven. She refused to resubmit the papers; and even when, a few years later, Prince Wittgenstein died and she was free, she regarded marriage with Liszt as opposed by the Divine will. A strain of mysticism, nurtured by zealous ecclesiastics, developed in her; she became possessed of the idea that she was a chosen instrument in the Church's hands to further its interests; and with feverish, desperate energy she devoted herself to literary work as its champion. She had her own press, which set up each day's work and showed it to her in proof the next. Rome she did not leave except on one occasion, and then for less than a day, during the remaining twenty-six years of her life.

It has been hinted more than once that the Princess's course was not as completely governed by religious mysticism as might be supposed—that her sensitive nature had divined in Liszt an unexpressed opposition to the marriage, as if, possibly, he did not wish to be tied down to her, yet felt bound in honor, because of the sacrifices she had made for him, to appear to share her hope. La Mara (Marie Lipsius), the editor of the Liszt letters, whose interesting notes form the connecting links of the correspondence, does not coincide in this view. But while it is true that, whenever Liszt was in Rome, he and the Princess saw each other frequently, that he became an Abbé probably through her influence, and that in some of his correspondence of later years there are notes of regret, the letters after the crisis in Rome breathe, as a whole, an intellectual rather than a personal affinity.

Be this as it may, that crisis was a tragedy in his life as well

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as in her own. Practically, each of his remaining years was divided between Budapest, in connection with the Conservatory there; Weimar, but no longer at the Altenburg; and Rome, but not at the Princess's residence, Piazza di Spagna. Each year he lived in three places, none of which was "home." The "golden period" of his life, and the outlines of the Altenburg, where others now housed, were dim shadows of the past. Liszt was the "grand old man" of the piano and one of the great masters of music; but whoever knows the story of his last years sees in him a wandering and pathetic figure. He died at Bayreuth in July, 1886; Carolyne survived him less than a year. Her twenty-six years in Rome were years of unremitting labor—more than a quarter of a century frittered away on a mistaken mission, which the world has forgotten, if, indeed, it ever took notice of what she was doing there. It is the linking of her name with Liszt, and its association with the "golden period" of Weimar, that will cause her to be remembered so long as his fame shall endure.

GUSTAV KOBBÉ.

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THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF INDIA.

BY SIR HENRY COTTON, K.C.S.I.

THE great political problem that lies before India is the awakening of her national consciousness, and the formation of a national movement with common sentiments of interest and patriotism. The different races, the numberless castes, classes and creeds, of India are being welded together. This is primarily the result of education, the inestimable boon which, in accordance with a noble and liberal policy, England has extended to India. It is education, and education on English methods and on the lines of Western civilization, that has served to unite the varying forces among the Indian populations. The English language is the channel through which the people are now able to meet on a common platform, and to give expression to their identical interests and aspirations. The railways, the steamships, the post-office, and the telegraph have played their part in closing the gap that used to keep the different provinces of India asunder, and the unification advances by leaps and bounds.

The unmistakable yearning for nationality finds its utterance through a newspaper press which has now become a potent factor in politics. The growth of this press has been phenomenal, rising, in little more than one generation, from struggling, obscure, and fitful efforts into an organ of great power, criticising the measures of Government with remarkable independence and vigor, and continually checking the abuses of executive authority. It has its imperfections, but it is impossible not to admire the ability and patriotism with which it is conducted. The unanimity of this press is as marked as the increase of its influence. The whole of its influence is in the direction of nationalization. A single note is struck. In every large town in India, newspapers are now published, identical in their spirit and in their object,

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all aiming and converging at the formation of a single political ideal.

The growth of an Indian nation is the great political revolution that is now working. There is no doubt of its meaning, its character or its destination. It involves the introduction of no anarchical element into India's future: there is no sign of any rupture with the past. We know that the present form of British administration cannot be permanent. The Right Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone wrote as long ago as 1850:

"I conceive that the administration of all the departments of a great country by a small number of foreign visitors, in a state of isolation produced by a difference in religion, ideas and manners, which cuts them off from all intimate communion with the people, can never be contemplated as a permanent state of things. I conceive, also, that the progress of education among the natives renders such a scheme impracticable, even if it were otherwise free from objection."

Every thinking man must know that these words are true. But we know also that the connection between India and England will not be snapped. India is bound to England, as England is to India. The English language, while it is the means of enabling India to attain unity, binds her also to Great Britain. The future of India is linked with that of England, and it is to England that India must always look for guidance, assistance and protection in her need.

We have to deal with a problem of extraordinary difficulty and complexity. We are face to face with a great upheaval which has revolutionized all departments of thought, inspired the aspirations of diverse communities and infused the sense of nationality into the people throughout a vast and surging empire.

More than twenty years have now elapsed since Lord Cromer, the greatest and most successful of Britain's pro-consuls, wrote:

"No one who watches the signs of the times in India, with even moderate care, can doubt that we have entered upon a period of change. The spread of education, the increasing influence of a free press, the substitution of legal for discretionary administration, the progress of railways and telegraphs, the easier communication with Europe and the more ready influx of European ideas are beginning to produce a marked effect upon the people. New ideas are springing up. New aspirations are being called forth. The power of public opinion is growing daily. Such a condition of affairs is one in which the task of government, and especially of a despotic government, is beset with difficulties of no light kind.

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To move too fast is dangerous, but to lag behind is more dangerous still. The problem is how to deal with this new-born spirit of progress, raw and superficial as in many respects it is, so as to direct it into the right course, and to derive from it all the benefits which its development is capable of ultimately conferring upon the country, and at the same time to prevent it from becoming, through blind indifference or stupid repression, a source of serious political danger. It is only what ought to be expected by every thoughtful man that, after fifty years of free press and thirty years of expanding education, with European ideas flowing into the country on every side, and old indigenous customs, habits and prejudices breaking down, changes should be taking place in the thoughts, the desires and the aims of the intelligent and educated men of the country which no wise and cautious government can afford to disregard, and to which they must gradually adapt their system of administration if they do not wish to see it shattered by forces which they have themselves called into being, but which they have failed to guide and control."

This statement is fraught with wisdom; and, during the twenty years which have since elapsed, the conditions mentioned by Lord Cromer have developed with increasing rapidity. It is not within the power of any man to obstruct the tide of progress, otherwise than for a time, by a policy of reaction. The period of Lord Ripon, and of his Finance Minister, who is now Lord Cromer, has been well described as the Golden Age of Indian reformers, when the aspirations of the people were encouraged, education and local self-government were fostered, and the foundations of Indian nationality were firmly laid. The natural trend of official opinion has been to assert itself in a reactionary outburst against this development, disparaging the vantage-ground acquired in the past. We are told that the salvation of India is not to be sought on the field of politics at the present stage of her development, that there are many other fields of usefulness and power which lie around the citadel of politics, and that when these fields are occupied the entrance to real political life will be easy, natural and safe. It is asserted that the weakness and limitations of the newly educated classes are now more clearly perceived, and that the complexities of the problems of Oriental politics are more distinctly realized. These are the commonplaces of reaction. They are the arguments of Mr. Noodle in his fatuous oration by Sydney Smith. But it is not by indulgence in such vague generalities that the current of advance can be stemmed.

Of what avail is it to disparage Burke, and Macaulay and

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Bright, Ripon, Cromer and Elphinstone? It is impossible to withstand the flowing tide. Temporary spasms of reaction are inevitable. They pass away like footprints on the sand, and we need not trouble too much about vexatious aberrations from the path of progress. They will be quickly forgotten. It is not reserved to any human agency to set back the dial of time. The result of reaction is always to galvanize into fresh life.

It was lately declared by a high authority that he could not conceive of a time as remotely possible in which it would be either practicable or desirable that Great Britain should take her hand from the Indian plough. Such is not my conception of India's future. An abrupt retreat would, indeed, be advocated by no one, and the process of reconstruction cannot be effected otherwise than by slow and gradual means. Many years must elapse before we can expect the consummation of a reconstructive policy. But Indian patriots look back upon their past with a just sense of pride, and they know that India will again take her own rank among the nations of the East. They are striving for the attainment of this ideal, which, however it may be delayed or marred in execution, is sure in the event.

Autonomy is the key-note of England's true relations with her great Colonies. It is the key-note also of India's destiny. It is more than this: it is the destiny of the world. The tendency of Empire in the civilized world is in the direction of compact autonomous States, which are federated together and attached by common motives and self-interest to a central power. There are already local legislatures, in which a certain measure of representation has been granted to the Indian people. A small concession has been made in this direction, but it is wholly inadequate to meet growing demands. In the cautious and gradual development of representation, in the increase of the power and influence of India itself, involving the ultimate extension of autonomy, will be found the appropriate and natural prize and legitimate goal for Indian aspirations.

It was the dream of John Bright, and he indulged in no mere mystic prophecy when he foresaw, that India would fulfil her ultimate destinies by a process of evolution, out of which she would emerge, not through force or violence as an independent state, or torn from Great Britain, or abandoned to England's enemies, but as a federated portion of the dominion of the great

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British Empire. The ideal of the Indian patriot is the establishment of a federation of free and separate states, the United States of India, placed on a fraternal footing with the self-governing Colonies, each with its own local autonomy, cemented together under the ægis of Great Britain. That is a forecast of a future, dim and distant though it be, the gradual realization of which it is the privilege of Government to regulate, and the aim and hope and aspiration of the Indian people to attain.

This is the ideal of India's future. It is a conception which gathers as it grows, and insensibly attracts into the political evolution all other great problems of economic and social reform which are awaiting solution.

India's great economic problem is the poverty of the people. No one who considers the economic condition of India can doubt that one of its greatest evils is to be found in the fact that the great mass of the people are dependent upon the cultivation of the soil. The establishment of large industries capitalized by Englishmen affords but a poor compensation for the variety of indigenous industries once spread through the country. An India supplying England with its raw products, and dependent upon the West for all its more important manufactures, is not a condition of affairs which an Indian patriot can contemplate with equanimity. India is the field where British capital is invested, but all the interest that is reaped therefrom passes to the pocket of the investor, and he takes it to England. This is a part of the economic drain which has been sneered at as a "copy-book fallacy" and as a "foolish and dangerous illusion." But how can it be denied that it would be vastly more beneficial to India if the wealth produced in the country were spent in the country? India is poor, and there are those who believe that, in consequence of its political conditions, it is becoming poorer; but the ambition of the people is to take their place among other nations in the future federation of the world. Their opposition to the exploitation of their country by foreigners is based upon a conviction that this exploitation is a real obstacle to progress; and the prosperity of the country depends upon the diminution of its economic drain and on the conservation of its resources for ultimate development by indigenous agency.

The difficulties are immense, for the essential difficulty always hinges on the disagreeable truth that there can be no revival of

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Indian industry without some displacement of British industry. But the first steps have been taken, and a start made by Indian capitalists. The beginnings are small, very small, at present; but, like the little cloud no bigger than a man's hand, they may grow and swell with a full promise of abundance.

Look at Japan! The force which has made Japan what she is, is an absorbing patriotism derived from, and dependent on, her national existence. It is based on collective action which independence alone can give. What an inspiration is afforded by the character of these Eastern islanders! What an example have they not set to the East of the power of a patriotic spirit! The conditions in India do not point to any early renaissance such as has been witnessed in Japan. But the changes that are taking place are as remarkable in their social, moral and religious relations as in their political and economic aspects; and the nascent nationalization is the magnet which holds together the solvent influences of Western civilization let loose on the simple society of the East. Under the immediate effect of these influences, old organizations are crumbling up, and India has entered upon a long period of transition preparatory to the establishment of a new order.

The result of English education has been to break the continuity of centuries, and the problem now is to bridge over the period of disorder with the least disturbance. Official interference was unavoidable in the first instance—in no other way could a beginning have been made; but the educational movement in India now stands in need of no such stimulus. It is in matters of education, more than any other, that the people of the country have become ripe for self-government. Systematic education is already falling into the hands of private enterprise. The time has come for the government to transfer its educational endowments to the custody of those who have been educated through them. The present system of University education should be reconstituted on a representative basis. A policy which proposes to knit together still tighter the bonds of official control is absolutely retrograde. It has been condemned by every section of Indian opinion; and though it may temporarily prevail, it will be as evanescent as it is unsound. The problem of grafting Western ideas on to an Oriental stock is now ready for solution in the only way in which a successful solution is possible, by means of

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Orientals, who, having been thoroughly imbued with a knowledge of Western civilization, have at the same time not lost sight of the traditions of their past.

A bureaucratic government is not likely to underestimate the value of any administrative reform which it puts forward of its own initiative, or the urgency of the call for its introduction. But, when the proposed reforms are pressed on them from outside and affect their own constitution, we need have no apprehension of undue haste or injudicious eagerness to accept them. The key-note of administrative reform is the gradual substitution of Indian for European official agency. This is the one end towards which Indians are concentrating their efforts, and the concession of this demand is the only means of satisfying the most reasonable of their legitimate aspirations. Lord Ripon justly urged, on behalf of his scheme of local self-government, that it would be an instrument of political education. And it may be as truly said that, if we desire to eventually establish an independent government, we can only do so by training the people to a sense of self-help and self-reliance through familiarity with the details, as well as the principles, of executive administration. It is no unworthy aim that is held out to the rulers of India for fulfilment. It is a title to glory all their own, that they found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of subjection and have so ruled them as to make them desirous of all the privileges of citizenship. But, however great may be their energy and activity in working through an official agency, it counts as dross if they lack the higher genius of educating the people by making them work for themselves, of evoking their powers by affording them opportunities for their exercise, and of raising them from a condition of mere passive subjection to a capacity for the discharge of higher responsibilities. A nation is the best administered which can manage its own concerns with the least aid from government; and no system of administration can be progressive or beneficial which crushes out the self-reliance of the people, and blights their legitimate aspirations to realize their destiny through their own exertions.

HENRY COTTON.

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OUR NEGLECT OF SOUTH-AMERICAN MARKETS.

BY GEORGE AGNEW CHAMBERLAIN, UNITED STATES VICE-CONSUL-GENERAL AT RIO DE JANEIRO.

A RECENT article in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW on the international aspect of our tariff situation gives us serious food for thought as a nation. The protective policy whose aim was to make us self-sufficient has surpassed its primary object, and our growing need of a foreign market has been proclaimed to all the world in our commercial assault upon Europe.

The march of progress from East to West is an historical phenomenon familiar to all, but the returning wave which, with American enterprise on its crest, has been gathering way in the last few years is a movement so new that it has but lately awakened speculation as to its force and volume. This movement is no less a phenomenon than the former, for the logical turning-point should have been reached only when there were no new fields left to conquer, irrespective of the East and West line. Why is the American producer, upon exhausting the home market, turning the flood of product back upon Europe, the very source whose westward flow developed into the mighty river of American commerce?

The movement is phenomenal because it is rejecting the vast, unopened market of South America to storm the fortress of manufacture, not justified by the conviction that the fortress is weak, but merely on the supposition that it is vulnerable.

The elation that the American manifests at each commercial onslaught on the European stronghold is, to say the least, premature. In view of certain recent developments, it takes no prophet to predict that we are about to awake to the fact that we have been poking a sleeping enemy.

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Take, for instance, the invasion of the English shoe-market. By cutting down margins to the vanishing-point, we have established a sale for shoes in England. What is the result? The English industry has taken a new lease of life; its factories are rapidly undergoing a transformation; American methods are being introduced, along with American machinery and lasts; and, with the tremendous factors of no freight and cheap labor against us, it is only a question of time when the invaded will turn the tables on the invaders.

"Well," says the American, "I sell him the machines anyway." That is true; but it brings up another point. In a flourishing city of Brazil,—a city, by the way, as advanced as any of its size in the United States—a large shoe-factory has just been equipped. It is fitted with the most modern appliances, and an employee informed me that the machinery was all American. "But how about these English name plates?" I remarked. "Oh," he answered, promptly, "it was exported from England."

I have also seen a parallel case on a South-American sugar plantation. So, even on our machinery, the English are getting a commission which, added to four thousand miles of extra freightage and the charge of the London banking toll-gate, makes one wonder what the American's margin is and whose pocket he is trying to fill.

While we are underselling our own market in Europe, rousing our competitors to desperate efforts by selling at prices we cannot maintain at home, these competitors are quietly invading fields which at present offer little opposition in the way of home production.

Any one who will read Mr. Stone's article on the tariff situation will easily convince himself that Europe has also been most thoroughly aroused to the possibilities of direct opposition to American invasion through tariff retaliation. We are awaking to find about Germany, France, Russia, Italy, Switzerland and Spain protective walls so high that the unconditioned enforcement of their tariffs would undoubtedly spell ruin to our European trade, which constitutes three-fourths of our total foreign activity. Above all, Germany is about to call our hand most emphatically, and we shall have to show it. Mr. Stone refrains from predicting whether it will prove to be reciprocity or merely "stand pat." The treaties tentative of reciprocity concluded

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by our special commissioner, the Hon. John A. Kasson, were so energetically opposed by the Senate, and that not on their merits, that "stand pat" would seem to be the policy favored by that legislative body. If this course be followed consistently, it is safe to presage an entirely new phase of the tariff war in the near future,—a phase which will awaken the tardy but active interest of every American exporter through a sudden tumble in his gross receipts. In other words, the game will have passed the stage of "bluff" which Germany has been playing with success, barring the United States, ever since she startled the commercial world by passing the extraordinarily high tariff of 1902, not yet enforced.

It is patent that what brought on the tariff war was not so much our own system of protection as our tremendous assault upon European markets. The radical measure enacted by Germany in 1902 would never have passed the Reichstag save for the general hue and cry which had for its key-note the "American invasion."

The sum of our tariff situation is this: that, for the first time, we are confronted by a foreign element—concerted external pressure so determined that our position at the present date may reasonably be termed a predicament.

Before this anticlimax we may well ask ourselves whether the game was worth the candle. In the writer's opinion, and from an all-world standpoint, the answer is in the negative. While we have been fighting for crumbs amongst a horde of competitors, our most powerful rivals, under cover of a flattering general cry of dismay, are conquering new worlds much more lucrative than the old and frayed one.

Take South America, or, rather, as more befitting the scope of these remarks, Brazil. The American exporter or contractor, with surprisingly few exceptions, is at a loss to say whether this bit of the continent approximates Rhode Island or Texas in size and development. The fact is that, if you set Brazil down in the United States, from Atlantic to Pacific, you have but an insignificant trifle left over for a fringe. Throughout this tremendous stretch of territory, railroading is in its infancy, electric traction has invaded but half a dozen cities, and its population, over one-third that of South America, is practically dependent upon foreign manufacture. The English built what railroads there are;

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Germans and Canadians dominate the street-railway situation; Portuguese, Spanish and Syrians hold the retail trade, and the French set the fashions in dress and thought.

As to commerce in its strict sense, the comparison in this case is odious only to the American. Nearly half the money that enters Brazil comes directly from the pocket of the American importer, and goes as directly into that of the German, English, French, Belgian, Argentine and Portuguese exporter.

Within the last three years, contracts for city improvements in the city of Rio de Janeiro alone have been given out to the amount of $40,000,000. The American share so far is half a dozen blocks of asphalt.

The reason for this state of affairs is not far to seek. First of all, the American has no idea of "commercial geography." The only grasp he gets upon it comes to him by chance. His doctor, or his daughter, declares that three months' travel is imperative; and travel to him means the grand trunk line to Italy and back. He makes the run, and on the way he cannot resist the temptation to drop in to visit a few factories that are turning out his line of goods. He sees an article, prices it, tests it and on the quiet voyage home, after sundry calculations based on rebates, pools and what not, arrives at the conclusion that the two-cent margin is a good thing if he can send over so many thousand at a time. He decides to show the fellow over there what he can do, and thinks that is good business. Now, travel is the basis of all export trade, yet this is as far as we have gone in its application. The American, of course, heard of Brazil when he was in the primary school, but whatever he learned about it is mixed up with nursery rhymes. By his own initiative a dealer in Rio de Janeiro created a sale for American shoes, and last year his sales amounted to over five thousand pairs. The profit was two dollars on every pair. This trade is only nascent; but, to counteract it, the English have already completed a modern factory on the spot, equipped it with American machinery and imported skilled American foremen. Considering that the Brazilian protective tariff of about one hundred per cent., *ad valorem,* is thus avoided, the success of the plan is assured.

Again, the reason why the American has been completely shut out from the big Brazilian contracts and trade in general is his ignorance of conditions in out-of-the-way countries and of the

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elementary methods of invasion. He glances at a consular report, and sees that bids are called for a retaining wall, a system of municipal markets or fifty miles of railroad. He writes to the consul and asks for further particulars. By the time the consul gets the letter, two months and a half at least have passed, and when he gets time he answers. On this amateur information, the contractor may send a representative. Five months have elapsed, and the representative finds the wall half built, foundations in for the markets and the railroad contracted. This is because the Englishman has his branch house on the spot. While the American is writing for particulars, the Englishman is cabling estimates.

To the American, too, all South-American credit is bad. He does not think that any South-American country can offer a safe guarantee, and he is ignorant of a fact long since weighty with Englishmen—that Brazil has never repudiated a foreign debt.

With the same lack of foresight, while the English and Germans are pushing their feelers into the most remote fields, searching out the markets where the retailer shudders at anything under fifty per cent. profit, the Americans, instead of sending out intelligent and responsible representatives, are satisfied with giving sole agencies to any firm they can get to answer their circular letters. Now, if a business man in the United States should give a Philadelphia house the sole agency for his orange-wood toothpicks and expect large sales in Texas, his friends would have reason to doubt his mental balance. Yet, it is just such financial farce that the American method is bringing about in Brazil every day. Not long ago, a Bahia house ordered a shipment of a dozen bicycles. The shipment was seized upon arrival by order of a Rio house a thousand miles away, which held the sole agency for Brazil but never had exploited it beyond its home town.

To put the matter plainly, at the expense of repetition, the whole trouble lies in the American's ignorance of all things south of the equator. If he should decide to go down to Brazil to have a look-in and trade with the natives, he would not be quite sure whether to take a letter of credit or bright beads and red cloth. No doubt, it would stun him to have his correspondent meet him at the station with a motor-car and run him around a bit to show him the town, for all the world as if he had landed in Rochester. Yet such a thing might easily befall him in the city of S. Paulo;

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and, if he asked his friend if any of the motor-cars they passed were American, he would get the answer: "No. Do you make them?"

There is another side to the situation which is daily becoming more serious. Brazil is making a noble fight for financial prosperity, and stands head and shoulders above every other South-American country in intrinsic importance. She is fast developing into a rich market, and she knows her own consequence as a big prize in the commercial race. Her long subjection to the cold shoulder of the country that should be foremost in helping her exploit her wealth is leaving its deep and lasting mark. Nothing transmits a sharper sting than the simple fact of being ignored, and the persistent indifference we are showing before the opportunities offered by this great and young sister republic is beginning to bear fruit in marked dislike. Day by day her glimmering of the better side of American character is becoming dimmed, and her eyes are fastening on those faults we least care to be known by. The protecting interest of the Monroe Doctrine is wormwood to her, for it hurts her pride of country; she feels perfectly capable of looking after her own back fences in the future, as she has in the past. So what we are wont to look upon as our generosity, she sees as interference. Slowly she is coming to hold complacent self-absorption, ill-directed aggressiveness, and increasing evidence of the "big stick" in our national policy, as the distinctive stamp of our national character.

Brazil finds in us a market for almost fifty per cent. of her total exports. She sends us yearly from six to eight million bags of coffee. It is exported by German houses; carried on English, German and Belgian ships; and paid for through London bankers. As in Brazil, so in the remaining republics south of the equator. Save where special industries have forced them to seek out American manufactures, we send them nothing but kerosene and codfish. We know them only through their international and internal embroglios: consequently, we know least of the most conservative, peaceable and promising among them.

Granted that our tariff complications have placed us in a predicament, can we not find in our position between two fires a lesson, and in the unexplored South-American market an alternative which may rapidly assume the properties of an antidote?

GEORGE A. CHAMBERLAIN.

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MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE FROM A LAY POINT OF VIEW.

BY ELIZABETH CARPENTER.

In the April number of the North American Review a high authority in the Protestant Episcopal Church arraigned what he called "Catholic Theory and Practice" concerning "Remarriage after Divorce," and in the May issue an equally authoritative member of the Church of Rome published an able defence, vindicating the Romanist's theory and justifying his practice. It is certainly true that the outside world, deeply interested in this vital human problem and finding some of its phases thus expressed by men eminent in ecclesiastical affairs, has read with attention all that has been said and has recognized the sincerity and dignity with which both views have been stated. But to the lay mind, to the dweller in the restless mart of unceasing change (which is the inevitable characteristic of the world at large), the opinions of these earnest Churchmen seem sadly inadequate—somehow, most depressingly beside the point.

There is a vast field of human experience out and beyond the farthest range of the ecclesiasticism of to-day. There are so many overt facts in modern living that simply refuse to coalesce with ecclesiastical theories, that the would-be clear-headed thinker is tossed to and fro between divorce and no-divorce, until he turns finally away from both Protestant and Catholic and seeks firm ground, as best he may, in the large, sane sense of an ever-progressing moral ideal in the great world.

It is to this tremendous factor in our present problem that I venture to call attention here; and, with the deepest respect for the Church in all its branches, and an honest appreciation of its splendid service to mankind, I still am moved to urge that, in the solution of the divorce-remarriage question, the Church herself

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is now presenting perhaps the greatest stumbling-block which the unbiased thinker is obliged to face.

What are the facts? The answer has been voiced in a late book* by a most honored member of the Protestant Episcopal Church:

"It is plain that Christ had in mind a Church; it is as plain that the thing which we call the Church is not the thing He had in mind. The difficulty which one confronts at the outset is to find the thing at all.

"To speak exactly, there is no objective reality to which the title 'Christian Church' can be applied. . . . There are not one-half as many separate governments in the world to-day as there were even a century ago. So far as one can see, there is a much more immediate prospect of a Catholic State than of a Catholic Church. It is a startling fact that the most potent divisive force at work in human society is the Church."

This is, perhaps, the strongest impression which remains with the general reader after he has attempted to digest some of the many conflicting views in the theological realm.

What is the logical conclusion? Simply that, upon so grave a subject as the marriage, the divorce and the remarriage of the men and women in our world of to-day, the one stable place from which we may reasonably look for guidance is the concrete experience of the human race as shown in its secular laws, its prevailing customs and its undeveloped ideals.

Now, what is the actual truth about our world of to-day? No student of history may doubt for one moment that the story of human experience has been one long, unceasing, untiring progression towards higher ethical expression, towards deeper spiritual truths. With all our faults and foibles admitted, it still remains true that the present generation is the most honest, the most upright, the most earnest and the most chaste aggregation of people that this planet has yet evolved. We are more kind, more generous, more temperate, more true and more fundamentally refined than any of our ancestors; and it is quite possible that it might be proven that we are also more religious.

But Bishop Doane writes, with evident personal conviction:

"I have not the slightest doubt that an increasing number of people will hold the Prayer-Book teaching, that the Church contemplates the marriage of one woman to one man until they are parted by death; and I have no doubt that a decreasing number of people will believe that adultery dissolves the bond."

* "Christ," by S. D. McConnell, D.D., LL.D.

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The overt facts in modern daily living do not seem to sustain this opinion; and, indeed, the contrary conclusion is very much to the fore, at least in non-ecclesiastical circles. An increasing number of divorces is, in truth, the cause of the increasing discussion of them; but here the lay mind reaches a curious situation. Emerson says that women are the true index of the coming hour, and it may now be taken for granted that the position of woman in the social scale is in direct proportion to the civilization and the moral status of the men of her especial age or nation.

Searching for concrete illustration in the nineteenth century, what do we discover? In the world of art, of literature, of music, of science—in the ranks which represent the highest capabilities of the race in active play—what is the record? A list of very significant names. Goethe, Wagner, George Eliot, Robert Louis Stevenson: Millais and Ruskin; George Sand; Victor Hugo; Edwin Arnold, and many more, all counting as strong, moral and spiritual forces in the elevation of their day, and yet one and all voicing the insistent reiteration of precisely the situation which the Church authorities claim to be unlawful, immoral and destructive to general society. Here are stubborn and most contradictory facts. And in the field of fiction what is the count? A very large majority of good novels, written by upright and honorable men and women, insisting that morality and spirituality cannot be measured by the rule of conventual custom, and that there is possible a cleanliness of soul in spite of cruel experiences of mind and body.

Three good and noble women, for instance—three great moralists—three spiritual teachers, in the highest sense, have given to our day the fervor and the force of the feminine nature striving towards perfection in ethical and moral values, and what is their testimony? George Eliot put aside the English law and married George Lewes; Mrs. Browning wrote "Aurora Leigh," and Mrs. Humphry Ward has published "Lady Rose's Daughter" and "The Marriage of William Ashe." What is the teaching? In George Eliot's case, that there may be reconciliation, through personal purity, between an unjust law and an individual need. In the story of "Aurora Leigh," Mrs. Browning worked out, through Marian Earle and the Lady Waldemar, the subtle truth that a pure heart may survive the blackest physical experience and become a valuable moral force, while an impure mind, hedged

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about by convention and social custom, may illustrate as debasing and as dangerous an influence as society can well encounter. And Mrs. Ward? In three of her books she has accentuated the plea that illegality in social relations does not finally soil the human spirit. In short, all these women taught that only evil persisted in and springing from tainted minds is a menace to our world, and that sin, rightly understood, is an educative force and never a final and irretrievable mistake.

Thus there is reached a situation which presents this curious contrast; on one side, the Church insisting upon indissoluble marriage, and, on the other, three moral and typically pure modern women standing for a freedom in the marriage relation which gives the individual every chance to retrieve past errors and reconstruct the personal life on a higher plane.

And even here the testimony is by no means closed. In this REVIEW for December, 1900, Mrs. E. C. Stanton said:

> "The first step to be taken in the effort to elevate home life is to make provision for the broadest possible education of women. Mrs. Thompson attributes the increasing number of divorces to the moral degeneracy of woman; whereas it is the result of higher moral perceptions as to the mother's responsibilities to the race. Woman has not heard in vain the warning voices of the prophets, ringing down through the centuries: 'The sins of the fathers shall be visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generations.' The more woman appreciates the influences in prenatal life, . . . the more divorces we shall have, until girls enter this relation with greater care and wisdom. When Naquet's divorce bill passed the French Chamber of Deputies there were three thousand divorces asked for the first year, and most of the applicants were women."

Shall any one of us venture so far as to accuse these broad-minded, clean-hearted modern women of any kinship with low moral values or imperfect spiritual conceptions? Shall we have temerity enough to even hint that this teaching can possibly be dragged down to the degrading deeps where seethe and fester the evil impulses of unbridled and licentious beings—such beings as the Church insists are always the ones who clamor for easy divorce and easier remarriage? Will statistics show that even a majority, no matter how small, of those who seek relief from the marriage bond and then marry another mate, are the men and women whose tenor of daily life is a menace to their fellow beings?

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Let us add to the names of the four women just quoted those of the almost innumerable thinkers and workers in the productive field of human thought. Begin with Dante and his defence of Paolo and Francesca, and close with Richard Wagner's Tristan and Isolde. What is the unavoidable conclusion? Always this: in the development of the separate individuals who make up the sum total of any age, it is not unyielding obedience to non-unanimous law (either in Church or State), but it is the struggle to understand the power that makes for righteousness within a man, which invariably leads on towards ever higher standards of moral and spiritual living.

Is it not pertinent to ask here, where we may find the human institution—the human law—which can prove that it has actually restrained the human wrong-doer at all points? The State has had long experience, but even to-day the State cannot do better than shut the sinner behind strong bars and isolate him from his fellow men. Even at its best, the penal system is a depressing failure. To put a debtor in jail did not pay his debts, or help him to want to pay them. To shut an impressionable, emotional human being behind the bars of a cramping and irritating marriage is not to calm and curb his unstable impulses, nor yet to purify and improve his moral atmosphere.

Upon the marriage question the State takes the philosophical ground that the less she interferes the better. The State, after long centuries of experience of social evolution, reaches the decision that, when she conserves the stability of human living and protects the innocent from the impositions of the guilty, she has done her whole duty, and the individual is free to work out his own salvation upon his own peculiar lines. The State grants, therefore, the right to marry, under certain conditions; she also consents to divorce for certain causes, and considers the welfare of the family; and then she permits remarriage, as soon as divorce is legitimately obtained.

But the Church? She has a different doctrine. She has her high standards, and the world respects her for them; she has stood for some great things in the past and men honor her and thank her unceasingly; but—let us frankly admit the truth—every time the Church has been fronted with a virile, dominant, insistent human will, in spite of her laws, in spite of her punishments, in spite of all her pleadings, that undismayed individual

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has forced ecclesiasticism into compliance with his (or her) will and has triumphantly won the day.

We may waive the question of Henry VIII and of Louis XII, but who does not know the story of the marriage of "Ferdinand the Catholic" to Isabella of Castile? Prescott says:

"The marriage between Ferdinand and Isabella was publicly celebrated, on the morning of the 19th of October. . . . The nuptials were solemnized in the presence of Ferdinand's grandfather, the admiral of Castile, of the archbishop of Toledo, and a multitude of persons of rank, as well as of inferior condition, amounting in all to no less than two thousand. A papal bull of dispensation was produced by the archbishop, relieving the parties from the impediment incurred by their falling within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. This spurious document was afterwards discovered to have been devised by the old king of Aragon, Ferdinand, and the archbishop, who were deterred from applying to the court of Rome by the zeal with which it openly espoused the interests of Henry, and who knew that Isabella would never consent to a union repugnant to the canons of the established church, and one which involved such heavy ecclesiastical censures. A genuine bull of dispensation was obtained, some years later, from Sixtus the Fourth; but Isabella, whose honest mind abhorred everything like artifice, was filled with no little uneasiness and mortification at the discovery of the imposition."

In any fair mind, such facts as these may not impair the dignity of the Roman Church any farther than clever criminals, still at large in every age, may attaint the honor of their State; but they prove a significant point.

The Roman Church, as a Church, has stood for high ideals and still stands for them; but in the heart of the Church itself history finds Alexander VI, the Borgian pope, vaunting unspeakable vice even from the papal chair itself; and, during the early Renaissance, the student discovers such base practices, in the face of the finest theories, that the Reformation was a necessity to cleanse and re-create the degenerating human spirit for which the Church was but a cover, conveniently hiding indescribable moral deformity. We read of the Cardinal Richelieu that he said of himself, "I decide upon what I wish to do; I accomplish my purpose; and, when it is done, I cover it all up with my cardinal's red robe."

And in Protestant circles? Dr. McConnell writes:

"The late Professor Bruce—whose orthodoxy none will question—has left on record these strange words: 'I am disposed to think that a great

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and increasing portion of the moral worth of society lies outside the Christian Church, separated from it, not by godlessness, but rather by exceptionally intense moral earnestness. Many, in fact, have left the Church in order to be Christians.' . . . No people has been converted to Christianity for nearly a thousand years. There are, no doubt, many explanations of this. But there is one which the Christian man cannot contemplate but with pain. It is that the moral ideas of men have overtaken and passed beyond and above those contained in the doctrinal presentations of Christianity."

Thus, the lay mind, perhaps even more eager for the common good of the world than the rigid ecclesiastic, turns disheartened away from complex dogmas and confusing prohibitions, and seeks comfort and hope in the certain uplift of the human spirit and the growing dream of ultimate purity.

None disputes—neither Catholic nor Protestant, and least of all "the lay brother"—none disputes the nobility, the *propriety* of monogamous marriage. Polygyny and polyandry have proven their innate weakness, even an innate viciousness, by invariably deteriorating results in human moral fibre. One man and one woman together at one time, each complementing the other's personal life, is the highest reach of sexual living, and the experience of the world has justified the insistence, in both Church and State (in all Christian communities), upon this fundamentally moral and spiritually helpful relation.

But why not rest there, and trust something, at least, to the proven tendency of man to continually elevate and refine his physical, mental, moral and spiritual condition? Why, in the twentieth century, attempt to take a step backwards and force upon a protesting civilization drastic restrictions in the way of personal living, such as were of no avail in ages when the average man was more subservient to the Church than he is to-day?

It was publicly stated, some years ago, that in the State of New York there were twenty thousand women supporting drunken husbands. Forty thousand human beings, in one single State, daily living out a low, demoralizing, debasing scheme of life on a simply destructive ethical plane! The twenty thousand husbands encouraged in their drunkenness, because sure of food and shelter at home; the twenty thousand wives slowly, but surely, undermining their own moral and spiritual values by constant and intimate association with vice and vulgarity! Nay, worse; a possible sixty or seventy or eighty or a hundred thousand children

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thrust into the nation's future, every one of them inheriting the depreciated moral standards of their common parentage! It is an appalling accusation to lay at the door of indissoluble marriage, when divorce and remarriage might offer to every one of those twenty thousand women an opportunity to profit by her past pain, and so link herself to an honest, sober man who could and would encourage and develop in her her instinctive yearnings towards decency and prosperity. It is not an unthinkable thing. It has been proven often enough to give ecclesiasticism pause.

A wise critic of Robert Louis Stevenson and his philosophy wrote some time ago:

> "All this we may regard as, in a sense, the present-day phase of the answer to Teufelsdröckh's question, 'What *art* thou afraid of?' And, perhaps, the age will bear it if for once we *do* leave our inveterate presupposition of man's innate corruption unregarded, and dare to let self-expression, trained as it is through a long growth of ennobling and Christianizing ideas, be large and untrammelled. It is well at least to know, if we may, that when left to his natural self, man may signify more than tobacco and gin and lust,—that there are at the bases of his nature thoroughly sound and respectable traits, after all."

Now, Robert Louis Stevenson's life was one which the Church (at least as represented in the two articles so lately printed) would unhesitatingly pronounce as illegal and unpardonable. Would such an attitude even suggest justice, when it confronted the man who, above most others in our especial day, taught to a responsive and loving generation a most beautiful and elevating ideal of personal and religious life? Orthodoxy may find weak points in George Eliot's armor, since she was an avowed agnostic; but no such charge as might impugn his religious faith and trust can be made against the writer of the Vailima Letters. Somehow, there is a ring to Stevenson's orthodoxy that reaches down to the inmost fibres of all human soul-stuff, there to awaken and quicken a thousand responsive aspirations towards actual integrity. It is not a forbidding ban frowning the sinner away from remote and only possible evil; it is a trumpet-call towards the outdoor, healthy moral atmosphere where goodness is substantial gain and cleanly living an inviting reality.

France has been alluded to several times. France, as every one knows, tried the Roman Catholic system for many years—but France, too, failed. No Anglo-Saxon is willing to admit to-day

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that either French theory or French practice in the matrimonial world is the best way towards conjugal fidelity or social success in basic morality. One of her kindest critics writes:*

"If marriage is understood by an entire society not to be a contrivance to 'bind love to last forever,' the principal objection to binding marriage to last forever disappears. Every instinct of form, of propriety, of regularity, every instinct which shrinks from social disturbance counsels the permanence of marriage, which thus becomes purely an affair of reason. Family relations, property interests, children's future, the organic solidarity of communities are in this way distinctly served. It is personal morality which suffers, because society is immediately adjusted to the notion that marriage is a convention merely, and that offences against marriage appeal to the tribunal of manners rather than of morals. And not only does morality suffer, but marriage unquestionably tends to become materialized."

The theory of indissoluble marriage, then, apparently will not "work out" well in practice. The spectacle of materialized marriages and the miserable blot of prostitution, which blackens the face of all monogamous society to-day, are things with which it seems that the Church does not sufficiently concern itself.

Dr. Felix Adler, in a late address on the subject of divorce and remarriage, gave as an illustration of the evil possibilities of liberal laws the fact that one woman had been divorced and remarried no less than five times, and that at least once she was remarried and then separated a second time from her first husband. Could intelligent people think soberly of such a case as a warning against proper separations and proper reunions? For such a woman as Dr. Adler pictured there is no Church, no State, no social order, no possible human force (except absolute isolation from her kind) that could ever succeed in curbing the fundamental lawlessness of her being. She is not a type of the latter-day woman; she is a lingering remainder from the old, old days of promiscuous human living.

There is still one more point. It is a conceivable thing that two people, living strictly within the most circumscribed conventional limitations, two people legally wedded and outwardly unimpeachable, may yet express their daily lives on an absolutely low and demoralizing plane; one which is an hourly menace to every community which happens to harbor them. "It is personal

* "French Traits," by W. C. Brownell.

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morality that suffers"; upon what but personal morality may any of us hope to found a respectable community, a safe promise for the future of the children of our race?

On the converse side, "to keep within the law" is by no means final proof that a man or a woman must necessarily be even a fairly moral being or an infinitesimally spiritual one. But, again, to have broken the overt law once, twice or many times is not conclusive proof of basic moral wickedness. The Church has taught insistently that any sin, repented of, may be absolutely forgiven; and it is the Magdalen who stands significantly in the Christian foreground.

Where then is our hope? Can it be in an ecclesiastical code that seeks to fasten upon thousands of virtuous men and women the fetters of indissoluble union, in order to make a vain attempt (an attempt proven to be vain) to regulate the immoral tendencies of the ever-decreasing few? Let us comfort ourselves continually, for this ever-decreasing few is a provable verity. Life heretofore has spelled progress in its unfolding centuries of experience. Why even imagine that it could spell failure in the future?

"Whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder." Every thinking soul alive willingly subscribes to that dictum. But does it need our support? Whom God hath joined together man cannot part, even if he invokes both the Church and the State to help him. But, when there is every possible evidence that God is putting two people asunder, what shall we say of the blind folly that tries to force them together?

If there is one conceivable state in our human affairs where the point at issue is overwhelmingly personal, it is in the marriage tie. As the mutual love, respect and trust of two sentient beings unfold on a plane of reasonable comfort and happiness, so their whole environment sensibly expands, develops, rises towards still higher planes of well-being for their offspring, towards still nobler issues for their contemporaries. But, if two fretted, fuming and unfortunate souls drag out hours and days and months and years in one long, unbroken antagonism, is it at all possible to evolve from such conflict, such chagrin, such despair, anything but subtle deterioration of personal morality, and ultimate and irreparable injury to their children?

More potent moral force, more active spiritual good is lost to the world through one unhappy marriage, persisted in until

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death, than may be regained by a score of happy unions, all of which must be exceptionally fortunate to overcome the "dead loss," as Emerson calls it, of the structural moral fibres.

The Church agrees with the State in that she permits separations, and thereby admits that some marriages may be more wicked than any divorce. But remarriage? Is it proven in human experience that, among self-restrained and refined people, a change in close companionship is necessarily a harmful thing?

Was it against Wagner's best self to marry Cosima? Was it inimical to the character of George Lewes that he joined his life to that of George Eliot? What does Browning mean in the story of Pompilia and Caponsacchi? Until the Church answers all such questions as these, with their almost numberless companions; until she can show that, even among her own members, her practice has followed her preaching, the lay mind must refuse to accept her position as tenable; it persistently reiterates that it is the spirit that quickeneth and it is the letter that kills.

Man in the past originated government, law and religious institutions; if, then, he voluntarily organized certain forces to restrain, to govern and to stimulate his moral nature into free play, can we not trust him now to work out his future problems without the old, hard severities which time has shown to be actual mistakes?

It is in no spirit of controversy; it is with no presumptuous pride that this plea is offered here for gentler judgments of the puzzling problems in the matrimonial world; it is only with an honest desire to contribute a lay point of view towards a possible comprehension of the intrusive fact that, thus far, at least, in the development of our "intuitive morality," we have not yet arrived at certain knowledge, but we are all apparently, at our very best, only "pushing the boundaries of our ignorance out."

ELIZABETH CARPENTER.

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WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: ST. PETERSBURG: PARIS: WASHINGTON.

LONDON, *June, 1905.*

THE arrival of a new American Ambassador always, for England, takes on something of the nature of a national event. You will have already read how the steamer which brought Mr. Whitelaw Reid to Plymouth was boarded out in the bay by the mayor of that famous port, by the President of the Southampton Chamber of Commerce, and by deputations from various commercial and mercantile associations of the locality. You will also have read the address of welcome presented to the new Ambassador and his reply thereto. But the real significance of the ceremony may for all that have escaped you. It is not to be found by studying the mere greetings interchanged nor even by weighing the cordiality of the sentiments expressed. Granting the occasion, its "note" could only be that of friendliness. The real and international significance of the ceremony lies in the fact that it should take place at all. The political ties that unite Great Britain and France are at this moment, and for many years are likely to be, closer than the political ties that unite Great Britain and America. The political ties that unite England and Japan are closer still. Yet neither the French nor the Japanese Ambassador is welcomed on his arrival with those complimentary attentions that always and almost as a matter of course mark the advent of the American Ambassador. It is nothing out of the way for the representative of a foreign Power, on his recall, to be publicly fêted in the capital of the State to which he is accredited. But for him to be greeted by officialdom and the people, on his arrival, before he has presented his credentials, before he has given any token either of his personality or of his policy—that is something unique. It is unique not only so far as England is con-

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cerned, but so far as the entire world of diplomacy is concerned. The firmest Continental allies do not so honor their respective Ambassadors. The distinction, in short, is one bestowed by Great Britain alone and bestowed by her only on the representative of the United States. Need I add that its bestowal is absolutely spontaneous and unprompted. Whatever is done is the outcome of instincts and feelings that owe nothing whatever to official inspiration. All this, as it seems to me, makes a pleasant custom not only pleasanter still, but more significant. There can, indeed, be no mistaking its meaning. It is a token that the British people regard America as they regard no other country on earth; that they recognize the existence, between England and the United States, of a special relationship that does not depend for its well-being or its efficacy upon political arrangements; and that nothing appeals to them so surely as an opportunity for acknowledging this relationship, perpetuating it and perhaps expanding it. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that in the greetings, so simple yet so unparalleled, extended to Mr. Whitelaw Reid, there was concealed a profound international fact.

As to Mr. Reid himself, London assumes that he will not fall one inch below the almost abnormally high standard of social aptitude, of eloquence, of versatility and address that all England associates with the American Embassy. The only difficulty ahead of him, as one of the great London journals has pointed out, is that he has to succeed Mr. Choate, "whose six years' Ambassadorship," says this same organ, "will always rank as one of the most brilliant and inspiring episodes in Anglo-American relations." In one sense it is impossible to succeed Mr. Choate; his "touch" was peculiar and personal to himself; and the special characteristics which he stamped upon his term of service will probably never again be reproduced. Personality counts for so much,—counts, indeed, almost for everything,—in the position of an American Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, that two strong and able men, temperamentally dissimilar, cannot possibly win the same kind of success. Each can succeed, but the degree and quality of the triumph, as well as the methods by which it is obtained, must vary with the nature and the capacity of the individual. There is, therefore, no question of "succeeding" Mr. Choate. The only question is whether Mr. Whitelaw Reid, in his own way, will be able to make an

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impression which, though different, will be relatively as great as Mr. Choate made. We in England are confident that he will. We are confident because, after declaring for fifty years that no one could take the place of the Ambassador who had just left us, we have always found that his successor could and did. We are also confident because we already know Mr. Reid. As the Envoy Extraordinary from the United States at the time of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee and again at King Edward's Coronation, his flexibility and social tact made everywhere a most favorable impression. We know that the cause of Anglo-American amity has always found in Mr. Reid an advocate of conviction, experience and far-reaching effectiveness. We also know that, at the critical moment of the negotiations with Spain, Mr. Reid did perhaps more than any other American to launch his country on that career of Imperialism which has the unqualified sympathy of the British people. We are, therefore, inclined to welcome him with the utmost cordiality and to expect him, if not to fill Mr. Choate's place, at any rate to make a place of his own not less resplendent.

In a recent letter to this department of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW I mentioned the growing interest that Englishmen were taking in the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Agreement; and I tried to make it clear that, while public opinion had come to no definite conclusion, the drift of national sentiment was towards not merely a renewal of the Agreement, but towards its expansion —its development, in fact, into a hard and fast alliance that would guarantee, by the whole force of both Powers, the Asiatic possessions of each. This drift, since I wrote, has been greatly quickened by a speech of Lord Lansdowne's. Addressing, on June 1st, a large party gathering, the Foreign Secretary used these momentous words:

"I think I may say that at no time has there, either on the side of the Japanese Government or upon that of His Majesty's, been any question whatever of a withdrawal from that Alliance. I might venture to go a little further and to say that, in our opinion, when the time comes, as it soon must, to consider what should be done with regard to the renewal of that Agreement, the only practical question will be whether it shall be renewed in its present form, or whether we should not seek for some means of strengthening and consolidating it. That Alliance has been a potent influence for peace; and if it should prove to be possible so to modify it that it would not only prevent the spread of the con-

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flagration, when the conflagration had begun, but prevent a conflagration from taking place at all, I believe that all true lovers of peace—and we are all lovers of peace in this country—would rejoice at such a consummation."

Such a declaration from such a man can only mean that British diplomacy is prepared to substitute for the present compact a more stringent Agreement — one, presumably, that would bind Great Britain and Japan to go to each other's assistance were either to be attacked, not as now by two Powers, but by one. Into the vast questions raised by such possibilities—questions that have, of course, their European as well as their Asiatic aspects—I do not now propose to enter; but I may perhaps be allowed to reproduce the well-weighed sentences in which, after a day or two's reflection, "The Times" referred to the subject:

"It is not, however, necessarily to the two contracting Powers alone that the Alliance would afford an invaluable guarantee for the preservation of their possessions and the protection of their interests in Asia. Inasmuch as it would be directed solely against any further attempts to disturb the *status quo* or to undermine the freedom of commercial intercourse in which all nations claim to be interested, we see no reason why it should provoke the antagonism or suspicions of other Powers. To the Chinese Empire it would give security against encroachment from without, and afford breathing-time for the work of internal reformation of which the Chinese themselves must sooner or later recognize the need. It would preserve the 'open door' which the United States have proclaimed to be a vital American interest. It would, in fact, be essentially a defensive pact to which all other Powers actuated by similar purposes could adhere, and it might thus become the nucleus of a pacific league which would arrest the dangerous development of international rivalries in Asia and ultimately stay the growth of the heavy burden of armaments which such rivalries inevitably bring in their train."

Nor was Lord Lansdowne less precise in his references to the Anglo-French *entente*. He declared that it had been of priceless value in "mitigating the friction and the trouble which are inevitable when a great war is in progress," and that there never was a moment when the good relations between the two countries were more firmly based than at present. In that opinion the whole of England readily and thankfully concurs. Anglo-French relations are in no sense a party question. Up to a certain point as much may, no doubt, be said for Anglo-Japanese relations. Were the Liberals, that is, to come into power to-morrow, the renewal of the Agreement of 1902 would be as assured

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in their hands as in the hands of the present Government. But I question whether the Liberals would be prepared to go beyond continuing the compact on its present terms. I do not think, so far as I can judge from the tentative utterances of their leaders, that they would consider it good policy to extend its scope. They have not, at any rate, seconded the suggestion; some of their journals have even protested against it; and though possibly they would not oppose it were it to be proposed by the Conservative Government—great issues of foreign politics in this country being rarely brought to a House of Commons vote—I am under the impression they would hesitate long before proposing it themselves. But as regards France the Liberals are not one whit behind Lord Lansdowne and his colleagues. They share to the full, they may in the near future be even expected to lead, the national enthusiasm for the *entente cordiale* and for its development into a yet more intimate compact. That is a fact to which recent and future events in Morocco are bound to lend more than a little importance. The rejection of the French proposals for the reorganization of Morocco, and the Sultan's counter-proposal for an international conference on the whole Moorish question, followed by M. Delcassé's resignation, raise what is likely to prove a tense and prolonged crisis. These facts, at any rate, bring the Anglo-French Agreement to a decisive test, for I need scarcely say that the value of that Agreement will be appraised by the popular opinion of France precisely in the degree that it succeeds or fails in realizing French aims in Morocco. England is beginning to understand that and to accept its consequences. If I rightly estimate her present temper she is resolved to support France in Morocco as unreservedly as she is supporting Japan in the Far East. That implies, of course, in this Moorish entanglement, a willingness to follow France's lead and to take the cue from her. As a consequence of this copartnership both in aim and method it is extremely probable that the Sultan's proposal for an international conference will be rejected not only by France, Great Britain and Spain, but by every European Power to whom it is submitted, with the exception of Germany. The first point in the game has been scored indisputably by the Wilhelmstrasse; but with patience, with adroitness, and above all, with loyal cooperation between the Quai d'Orsay and Downing Street, the final victory ought to rest with France.

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Domestic politics during the past month have continued to revolve round the Fiscal Question—not so much around its merits as a policy, as around its relation to Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Balfour, Mr. Balfour's relation to Mr. Chamberlain, and the relation of every one and everything to the Colonial Conference which is due to meet, but probably will not be summoned, in 1906. It is useless to expect Americans to be interested in the thousand and one involved and mystifying points that are raised, debated, but somehow never answered, in the discussion of these various complexities. It is useless because even Englishmen are wearying of them and no longer pretend to fathom the connection which each may be supposed to have with the other. The whole agitation has degenerated into such a chaos of evasions, half-lights, equivocations and uncertainties that the plain British voter is frankly unable to see a yard ahead of him. He knows, indeed, what Mr. Chamberlain wants and what he advocates, for Mr. Chamberlain is always plain-spoken. Nor has he any doubt of where the Liberals stand. At times, too, he has a glimmering of Mr. Balfour's policy, but how far it is a policy complete in itself, precisely where it differs from the Chamberlain programme, precisely where it is identical with it, and whether Mr. Balfour or Mr. Chamberlain is the real leader of the Unionist party, he simply does not know. Every speech that is forthcoming from a member of the Cabinet adds something to the bewilderment, and something, too, to the universal exasperation. On May 22nd in the House of Commons that exasperation culminated in a scene that for a whole hour placed the British Parliament and the Austrian Reichsrath on the same level. In the country it finds its expression at the polls. In the first week of June two by-elections were held, one at Whitby, the other at Chichester. At Whitby a Conservative majority of 1,083 was turned into a Liberal majority of 445, and at Chichester a Conservative majority of 1,875 was reduced to 412. Altogether since the present Government came into office in 1900 there have been, in England, Scotland and Wales, 59 contested by-elections. Five years ago these 59 seats were held by 43 Conservatives and 16 Liberals; they are now held by 25 Conservatives and 34 Liberals. Since the last General Election the Liberal vote has increased 37 per cent. and the Conservative vote has decreased 2 per cent. That is the answer of the country to Ministerial "tactics."

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ST. PETERSBURG, *June, 1905.*

A NEW era in international politics, and it may be in civilization, has been inaugurated by the Battle of the Sea of Japan. On few naval or land engagements of modern or ancient times have so many or such far-reaching issues hung: they included the upshot of a campaign, the fate of an Empire and the destinies of a race. For Russia the destruction of her fleet means the close of the autocratic epoch and the beginning of a reign of democracy. One-man rule is now virtually dead, while the masses are quickly awakening to a sense of their rights and duties. And the new conditions of national life are become evident to almost all: ministers, journalists, professors, merchants discern them clearly; the masses apprehend them dimly, while the few who are still blind to them are the people who will not see. And chief among these are the Tsar himself and a small band of interested and disinterested adherents.

The Autocrat, upon whose mind apparently no deep or lasting impression can be made by men or events, was hopeful and buoyant down to the very day of the naval disaster. And even now he looks with serenity upon the future of his Empire and the prospects of his house. As peace and war still depend upon his will, one cannot gauge the situation without reckoning with its manifestations. Up to the 27th of May the Tsar had put his trust in Rosjestvensky. And during the ten or fourteen days that preceded the historic encounter of the squadrons, the Autocrat spoke often and confidently of Rosjestvensky's impending victory, his only fear being lest the enemy should shrink from an encounter and hide. And in his home policy the Tsar discounted the looked-for triumph. Thus he allowed his promises to his people to be interpreted in the light of it and all the concessions he had bestowed in ukases and rescripts to be greatly restricted or wholly repealed by Government *communiqués,* ministerial circulars and other kindred documents.

One of the most significant of these promises dealt with the convocation of a representative assembly. M. de Witte had frankly said that that innovation was necessary to the dynasty and would be ruinous to the Autocracy. And Nicholas II repented of having signed the rescript almost before the ink with which he had written his name was dry. Still as the Tsar's word—like the laws of the Medes and Persians—altereth not, the letter of

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the promise will be observed. But only the letter. The Emperor's heart is not in it. He knows what is good for his 140 million subjects better than they can be aware of it themselves. Three weeks ago the then Minister of the Interior, who was charged with transforming the Imperial concession into a working institution, reported progress to his Imperial master. His Majesty listened, frowned and then said: "Yes; I see you have not been idle; but you cannot expect me to praise the work. I am not in sympathy with it." M. Bulyghin bowed respectfully and added that he did not like it himself. Shortly afterwards the same Minister in conversation with a friend remarked: "I am powerless to do anything good or bad until Rosjestvensky has put force into my arm. When he has thrashed the Japs, I may act vigorously, but until then I am palsied."

A further illustration of the Tsar's pathetic hopefulness was given by the Marine Minister, Admiral Avellan. Two days before the fateful battle that official, from whom Nicholas II received daily food for hopes, allowed himself to be interviewed by a Russian journalist for the edification of the whole Russian people. He said that the one thing which people feared was that the Japanese might perhaps let the Russian fleet enter Vladivostok, might attack them with torpedo-boats and finally shut them up in the port. "But there is no likelihood of that," he added. "The epic of Port Arthur will not be repeated. Rosjestvensky is not the man to allow himself to be bottled up in a harbor. Neither shall the Japs pounce upon him unawares. He will himself, we may be sure, seek for an encounter with the foe and will endeavor after a hard-fought battle to wrest the command of the sea from them. . . . They shall be compelled to meet him whether they will or no. He has many ways of compelling them to accept battle. For example, Rosjestvensky has only to bombard a Japanese port and Togo's squadron will have no choice but to sally forth and defend it." In a word, the Minister took it for granted that the enemy would sedulously avoid Rosjestvensky, who hungered and thirsted for battle. And that was precisely the view adopted by Nicholas II and his secret advisers.

And all the Tsar's domestic policy was shaped by the belief that the Baltic Squadron would retrieve the losses sustained by Makaroff, Ukhtomsky, Kuropatkin and Rennenkampf, and that the academic concessions to liberalism wrested from the Autoc-

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racy after those reverses, but not yet carried out, might then be informally revoked or at any rate disregarded. And it was only a matter of weeks or days. For the Tsar moves and has his being in the present, which he looks upon as lasting. He resembles a man on a thawing ice-floe which is fast drifting towards a warmer climate: while the ice melts and breaks around him, he is absorbed in architectural plans for building a spacious edifice on the island which he deems fixed and solid. So little does the recent past, the past of military defeats, naval disasters and moral bankruptcy, influence his modes of thought that he imperially ignores it in his schemes for the future. The extent to which Nicholas II thus disbelieves in solid fact and builds on airy fancy may be gathered from his attitude towards the district of Port Arthur and the Province of Manchuria, which he still treats as integral parts of Russia. Indeed, his paternal solicitude for those two regions is more tender now than ever before. Admiral Alexeieff is still his Viceroy, trusted and well paid, although he no longer resides at Port Arthur or Harbin, but in the Hôtel d'Europe in St. Petersburg.

During the past six months whole chancelleries have been kept busy working for the welfare of the provinces of Port Arthur and Manchuria as though there had been no battles lost on land and sea. Truly a pathetic spectacle! His Majesty first summoned General Ignatieff to advise him respecting the better government of the two provinces, and having received the reply that it might perhaps be better to wait until they were reconquered, rejoined: "Oh, that's a foregone conclusion—the question of a few months. What is important is that we be ready with a plan of reorganization. Help me to frame it." And the work which thereupon began has since been moving apace. Alexeieff's powers have been graciously extended by the Emperor, who now allows him to have four departments, one of them a diplomatic chancellery—and his Majesty is actually abolishing a Governorship in order to add to the jurisdiction of his lucky favorite. The educational system of Port Arthur is also undergoing a sweeping change, and in particular the charter, programme and staff of the school of forestry are being considerably modified. Again, two or three judges were nominated last March and two others have recently been asked for by the Minister of Justice, the request being preferred on the eve of the Battle of the Sea of Japan. And all for the weal of

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the province of Port Arthur! That makes four or five judges more than were needed eighteen months ago when the Liaotung Province still belonged to Russia. The phenomenon is psychologically interesting. There is a certain analogy between it and the case of mutilated men who continue to feel pain in the limbs already amputated. But the likeness is imperfect. For probably no one has ever yet heard that such persons order boots and stockings, or baths and bandages, for the feet or arms which have been cut off and buried.

If the Tsar really meant either to grant political reform or to convoke a legislative assembly he would charge the latter body with the work of setting forth the nation's needs and making proposals to satisfy them. But in lieu of this he has let loose a plague of commissions on the land.

At the close of Plehve's régime there were four great committees: one to deal with agricultural industry, another to settle the peasants' question, a third for the reform of provincial institutions and a fourth for the affairs of the Far East. It was admitted soon after Plehve's death that these commissions were merely squandering time and money and that no public good would result from their deliberations. The needs of the country must, it was urged, be studied and satisfied by representatives of the people. But the Tsar created a vast number of commissions, among which the following have attained a certain degree of notoriety: (1) Count A. P. Ignatieff's commission to ascertain how far it would be safe to give up the system of governing Russia by martial law tempered or aggravated by administrative discretion; (2) Bulyghin's commission to prepare the ways and means for such a body of national representatives as will leave Autocracy absolutely intact; (3) Goremykin's commission on the condition of the peasantry which has succeeded that of Witte, which followed that of Plehve—all of which were abolished before they had made any changes; (4) Kobeko's commission on the needs of the press, of which the ostensible object is to make the press as free as is compatible with Autocracy, and the method is to employ commissioners of whom the majority are warm friends of repression—while these special pleaders were discussing theories, practical measures were passed against the press more stringent than ever had been adopted before; (5) Kokofftseff's commission on the Labor Question; (6) Saburoff's commission on the transforma-

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tion of the Senate; (7) Timofeyeff's commission on State insurance; (8) Kutler's commission on the Income Tax; (9) Izvolsky's commission on schools; (10) Yermoloff's commission to find means for rendering the working of the educational institutions normal; (11) Roop's commission to inquire into the surrender of Port Arthur. Over and above these commissions is the Committee of Ministers whose functions are identical with those of the Ministerial Council. And last of all comes the most recent of all commissions, which Nicholas II composed of five Ministers and one Director, for the purpose of settling the land question without disturbing anybody or changing anything: the making of omelettes without the breaking of eggs.

And those are only some of the extraordinary bodies now sitting. They have on the one hand usurped the functions usually discharged by the permanent administration, and on the other they are forestalling the work of the representative chamber. And it should be borne in mind that there are many more commissions which overlap, so that no one can say where the functions of this one end and those of the other begin. Thus there are a committee for the affairs of Finland under the chairmanship of Senator Tagantseff, a commission for the settlement of the question of religious toleration and a committee for the reform of local self-government which exists but has not done anything—and very many more. Nobody for a moment believes that these commissions will elaborate any system of reform. For there is no unity of plan among them, no co-operation, nay in some cases no desire to do anything but gain time by throwing dust in the eyes of the people. If chaos prevailed under Plehve, it was worse confounded under Bulyghin, nor will order be evolved before a new spirit has moved over the face of things. And many fear lest it be a spirit of internecine strife.

Now of all those commissions the only one which has done good work is that over which M. Witte presided. It was he who framed and passed the Religious Toleration Bill, and he was on the point of getting a "peasant reform scheme" carried by his commission when it was dissolved by the Tsar at Pobiedonostseff's instigation. As soon as Witte's religious toleration act was signed by Nicholas II, 600 Uniats theretofore kept by force in the Orthodox fold hastened to re-enter the Catholic Church in the parish of Kusleff in Sedletz. Altogether in that province and the neigh-

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boring one of Lublin about 26,000 persons abandoned the Orthodox Church for the Roman Communion during the past three or four weeks. But now illegal hindrances are being thrown in the way of such changes. The Catholic and Protestant clergy have been ordered to receive no more converts into their respective communities without instructions from the Government. And these are not forthcoming. In like manner a few weeks ago the Emperor published a ukase allowing the Poles to send telegrams in their own tongue. Delighted, they rushed to the offices to avail themselves of the coveted privilege—but their messages were refused. Then they complained to the authorities of St. Petersburg, who told them that Polish telegrams could be accepted only at offices where there were officials versed in that tongue, and that in most villages, towns and cities there were none. In just the same way on August 24th last year the Tsar solemnly abolished flogging, and later on publicly condemned the illegal methods of his administration and announced his determination to establish the reign of law instead. But since then the administrators have received from the Tsar himself permission still further to extend their discretionary power and suspend the operation of the laws; the police have been allowed a degree of license greater than that which they possessed under Plehve, and as for flogging, it is still systematically resorted to not only as a punishment, but also as a means of torture, to compel confessions and revelations.

And the bureaucracy cares as little for the interests of the nation as for the feelings or the dignity of individuals, or the sanctity of law. Urgent orders for the victualling of the troops are set on one side while officials smoke their cigarettes and chat with friends. About a month ago a friend of mine went to a ministry to see one of the Directors. The moment he entered the department he heard a group of officials quarrelling about an order which had arrived seventeen days previously: an order to forward at once certain supplies for the Baltic Squadron. The responsible official denied that it was on his table, affirmed that he had never received it, while another asseverated that he had duly delivered it. The written order was finally found on the responsible official's table buried under a heap of other papers. Of course the demands had not been complied with and when the act of negligence was discovered it was too late to repair it.

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But now the bureaucracy with its tangle of commissions is seemingly at the end of its tether. For it has of necessity left untouched two all-important questions which are bound to solve themselves at its cost, nay at all costs; one is the status of the Jews, who alone of all religions and races have not profited by any of the various measures of relief introduced since Plehve's death, and the other is the condition of the peasantry. The Jews, indeed, have not only had no surcease of sorrow and persecution, but they have been subjected to a series of ruinous attacks and sanguinary massacres deliberately prearranged by the agents of the Government, which afterwards calumniated them and endeavored to make it appear that they were the aggressors. Even a moderate Anti-Semite would be horrified by the sickening details of the clubbing and hacking to death of people who wanted only to live and let live. M. Witte was anxious to solve once for all the problem of the Russian Jews, beset though it be with difficulties. And he would have settled it as it is settled in the United States, on the basis of equal rights to all. But none of his colleagues had the courage to face the task and they all knew that the Government would veto every reasonable proposal they might make. And so the Jews were left unemancipated, while Calmucks, Kirghizes, Chuvashes and all the other wild and uncivilized tribes in the Empire received the same rights as Russians possessed. And the Jews must be angels or brutes to remain inactive while a weak and tottering government desires that they shall continue to subsist as helots.

The other section of the population whose attitude may prove decisive is the peasantry. The Russian mujiks are treated regularly as tax-paying machines and exceptionally as human beings. They have no rights, and whenever the Tsar bestows upon them any privilege it is forthwith taken away by the official known as "land chief," who stands toward the peasant *in loco parentis,* for the Russian mujik is always an infant in the eyes of the State. Now the tillers of the soil in the Tsardom are generally ignorant and superstitious. They cannot, therefore, be expected to know the *pros* and *cons* of political questions. They have far too little land to pay the heavy taxes and support themselves. Therefore an addition to the size of their farms is the one thing necessary and that is possible only if the crown and the imperial lands and even a portion of private landed property be sold to the

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peasants at moderate rates and with the assistance of banks which are not bent on earning money. And this the whole reform party is pledged to grant, whereas the Tsar in one of his latest ukases expressly refused to encourage hopes of any such relief. For that reason, if for no other, it is likely that the bulk of the peasantry, if they can be got to understand the issues and to believe the assurances of the Liberals, will make common cause with the reform party to obtain their ends. But it is perhaps still more probable that they will simply seize on private property without joining either side.

PARIS, *June, 1905.*

THE French have had some reason lately for being roused from their usual apathy with respect to foreign politics. At no period since the critical early years of the Republic has the press been compelled to turn so anxious an ear to rumors from the outside, and at the same time has been so unanimous in laughing all probabilities of war to scorn, a sure sign of uneasiness of mind.

The fluctuations were of startling suddenness. Until late in March a universal calm seemed to prevail in Europe, and, even in the Far East, there was good hope of some agreement being come to by the belligerents. The *entente cordiale* between England and France had just removed all likelihood of friction in Morocco and Egypt; the shocking state of affairs in Russia had cooled even the hottest champions of an exclusive alliance with the Tsar; General Porter was bringing to an end a most successful embassy and preparing the expressions of good feeling we heard last month from himself and from MM. Rouvier and Delcassé, which were so natural that no trace of the diplomatic accent could be detected in them; Spain had adhered to the Moroccan agreement, and Italy still under the favorable impression left by M. Loubet's visit to Rome was pursuing with perfect good-will peaceful negotiations in Abyssinia.

Germany herself had never been so friendly. She unhesitatingly offered to substitute her financiers for ours when the sixth Russian loan was meeting with nothing but distrust in Paris. She gave, through the Emperor himself, the most solemn assertion of her peaceful dispositions. While the seven years' policy of M. Delcassé had ignored her in the series of international conventions

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concluded by France, she only seemed willing to enter into what eventually might become an alliance.

Who will account for the unexpected change that took place in the Emperor's attitude? It is well known that there exists in Germany a strong party the ruling idea of which is that their country throve by war and can only remain prosperous by war. On the other hand the Emperor is described as mobile and easily swayed. But the reasons of his change, while political circumstances remained exactly the same, must be forever mysterious. The difficulties of French action in Morocco were only growing more visible, in spite of the good-will of England and Spain, when the Emperor substituted threatening language for his calm utterances of the month before—choosing, too, for the delivery of his new feelings a place close to our frontier—and betook himself to Tangier with a deliberation that would have left no room for doubt, even if his speech had not been more to the point than the addresses of monarchs usually are. On his return there ensued, between the French and German papers, one of those brisk conversations which are a form—safe enough in some respects—of modern diplomatic intercourse, the German press complaining in sour language that the Wilhelmstrasse had been left out of the Morocco arrangement, the "*Matin*" replying that there was a French ambassador in Berlin who was ready with the necessary explanations. In the mean time actual preparations for war were being made on both sides of the frontier, and are still carried on at the present moment, though the French and German ambassadors at Fez are apparently on the best of terms, and the visit of the King of Spain to Paris has afforded a powerful diversion.

It is needless to try and describe the feelings of what one is wont to call "the country" at the possibility of a war with Germany. One of the chief causes of the popularity of the Republican Government has been its aversion to war, its calmness at critical junctures when the pride of a monarch would have been likely to bring about a conflagration. The recollections of 1870 are still too fresh to render a war popular unless the national dignity were evidently disregarded. In Parliament, in the press and in political circles the case may be somewhat different. English and French interests being at the present moment on the same side, and Germany in the way of both nations, it cannot be doubted that the advisability of accepting the contest was seriously considered

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in the upper circles of French opinion. An ex-minister, M. Boucher, expressed his belief that war was inevitable. A similar speech was circulated as coming from no less a person than General Brugère, the commander-in-chief of all the French troops. One evening of the second week of May the editor of an old and powerful paper, whose opinion carries great weight, counted as many as seven members of the Cabinet who, he knew for certain, were inclined towards a declaration of war.

But all this lies more or less in the region of conjecture. One fact stands out clearly, viz., the view taken by the Chamber of the Tangier incident; and to the currents of opinion visible in Parliament on that occasion we ought to give serious attention.

M. Delcassé's opponents were of two different classes, and belonged to two different parties: on the one side the Nationalists, on the other the Socialists. The former attacked the Foreign Minister through narrow-mindedness, through an excess of diffidence, above all through the instinct infallibly impelling them to attack and snap at random. The former sided against him under a misconceived idea of broad-mindedness which, beyond certain limits, is not easily distinguished from a mild form of lunacy. The Nationalist sticks above all to the national prejudices which he mistakes for national glory. He is a born enemy of England, has not forgotten one detail of the Hundred Years' War, and scents a snare wherever he sees Albion's hand. One of his sorest grievances is the memory of the expedition to Egypt, and he seldom fails to hint that M. de Freycinet had been sold to England. Fashoda is another tender point which he can no more suffer to hear mentioned than to see forgotten. In such a mental disposition the final cession of Egypt by the recent Anglo-French agreement must have appeared an act of treason, and the English countenance of our action in Morocco was sure to be construed as a stratagem to get France into a scrape. The Nationalists in their press and in the Chamber always describe Morocco as a nest of hidden difficulties with nothing to repay the trouble of meeting them. They do not notice that the language they use with regard to the advisability of occupying Morocco is exactly the same that induced M. de Freycinet to recall our men-of-war from Alexandria, and the Nationalists of to-morrow would certainly abuse M. Delcassé if he listened to the Nationalists of to-day. In the mean time the expectant attitude of the Moorish

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Government between M. von Tattenbach and M. Saint-René-Tallandier confirmed them in the conviction that we have given up the real thing for the shadow.

The Socialists take quite a different view of the matter. Before stating it I would point out an important particular. For six years the Socialist party was part of the Bloc, that is to say of the majority, and carefully forbore from opposing either M. Waldeck-Rousseau or M. Combes because the two Premiers were carrying out an anticlerical policy which was nearer to their hearts than anything else. In those days I saw many an intelligent foreigner mistake their attitude for real wisdom and judge them by a man of the stamp, for instance, of Mr. John Burns. The event alone proves that their nature was still the same, and that they had never ceased, while making use of the *bourgeois,* to hate and despise them. The moment M. Rouvier took office they were once more threatening and sneering on their benches.

Of all the members of the new Cabinet, M. Delcassé is the most objectionable in their eyes. The reasons of their dislike to him are manifold. In the first place they think him too personal for a democratic functionary. M. Delcassé has now been more than seven years in office. Apart from the first days of his Ministry when he had to arrange the Fashoda incident he managed to work at the same time so quietly and successfully that nobody had occasion to object to anything he was doing. So he was, for seven years, practically left to himself. The country had no reason to regret it, but the Socialists do not act upon the same principles as the country, and they object to anybody doing anything by himself. They want the servants of democracy to give a full account of themselves to democracy, and that is exactly what a Foreign Minister cannot and must not do. M. Delcassé, who is a Southerner by birth and, in private life, a man of quick spirit and lively speech, is in Parliament the most guarded of orators. He has succeeded many a time in putting off dangerous questions by summoning the discontented deputy and giving him private explanations. When he has to address the Chamber he writes what he wishes to say to the last word, and is seldom induced to add one syllable that had not been carefully weighed beforehand.

Besides this more general grievance they have another more definite. The Socialists are a great deal more touchy when Ger-

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many is in question than when it is their own country, or, as one of them put it quite recently, when the tyrant called fatherland is at issue.

Germany is dear to the Socialists for two reasons. They look upon the country of Marx and Bebel as the land of election of their theories, the one in which the coalition of the brain and the hand, of the Marburg thinker and the Gladbach laborer, is most likely to bring about the subversion of the old order of things and the establishment of the new. In the second place, they know that whenever hostility against Germany reappears it takes the shape of the Alsatian claims, and these claims are, in their theories, the very embodiment of barbarism. In this connection, M. Delcassé is their *bête noire*. In 1870, a very poor usher in a provincial school, he came to Paris and became a journalist under the pressure of the Franco-German war. A writer in Gambetta's paper, the "*République Française*," and to this day a devout admirer of the Tribune, he is one of those for whom the question of Alsace-Lorraine must ever be open. But, conformably with his master's speech "always think, never speak of it," he never mentions either the lost provinces or their conqueror. It is wonderful that he should have managed during his seven years' office never once to name Germany in the Chamber. It was this very circumstance that the Socialists, through M. de Pressensé, turned against him with a violence by which he seems to have been staggered. Strangely enough this self-possessed man was discomposed by the very clamors he ought to have expected the most, offered his resignation, and let the Premier repeatedly address the Chamber in his place.

Is there some secret reason for a despondency which lasted some time, and ought we to believe that M. Rouvier hurt his colleague's feelings by insisting on too minute an account of the Moroccan transactions? One feels almost inclined to believe it. Under the two last Cabinets the Socialist vote decided the fate of the Government. The new majority having annexed moderate elements, the Socialists are only an obstreperous set, and their opposition can hardly account for the evident discontent of a man who had never been known to lose either his head or his temper.

But it is useless to speculate on the unknown causes of doubtful effects. Suffice it to say that M. Delcassé was backed by

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a very large majority when the support thus given him meant much more than a mere platonic demonstration.

M. Delcassé was hardly freed from his anxieties on our Eastern frontier, and King Edward's visit had only just proved that the uncle's views were widely different from those of the nephew, when the question of international neutrality threatened to come most unfortunately between England and France. This difficulty following immediately on the King's visit, when the Parisians had felt once more that no monarch is as much at home over here as Edward VII, was seen on both sides with a displeasure which boded its speedy settlement. But here once more, while the Nationalists themselves supported M. Delcassé, our Socialists thought it advisable to make the Minister's position more uncomfortable than it already was. What had happened off the coasts of Madagascar and Indo-China has never been known for certain. The poor defence of the Russian squadrons at Tsushima and the Liancourt-Rocks would induce one to suppose that they could hardly have reached their far-off destination without some friendly assistance. How far could such assistance be thought permissible in view of the Franco-Russian alliance and of the French rules of neutrality will be stated by somebody more expert than the writer. Suffice it to say that Mr. Balfour and even M. Motono, the Japanese minister in Paris, were sooner satisfied with M. Delcassé's explanations than the Socialists, whose mouthpiece, M. de Pressensé, did his best to demonstrate that the French agents had been inexcusably in the wrong. The reason of this excessive nicety does not lie, of course, in any special sympathy for England, nor in a sympathy with Japan. It can be accounted for only by their dislike—natural enough—of Russia, and by their ill-will against M. Delcassé.

The Russian disaster at Tsushima has only made the situation of the Minister more difficult. The Nationalist press which had backed him while the danger was imminent, now lays at his door the responsibility of another danger in the near future. The "*Eclair*" and the papers of the same shade seem to be hypnotized by the unexpected rise of the Yellow Race, and inveigh against a policy which makes us subservient to their plans. Between their hatred of Germany—striving to thwart all our efforts in Morocco—and their dread of seeing a Japanese squadron threaten Indo-China, they forget one of the great dogmas of Nationalism

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and advocate a reconciliation with the Kaiser. They insist that the naval forces of Germany are indispensable to us if we want to keep up our situation in the Far East, and speak with disgust of the *entente cordiale* as of a dupery. They are sure that within a few years England will be compelled to attempt the complete destruction of the German fleet and contend that we shall be losers by it, as the Japanese will have more elbow-room, and are in the mood for availing themselves of it. Consequently they advocate the continuation of the Russo-Japanese war by the method of "victorious retreat," and the endless putting off of the moment when Russia ought to pay the war indemnity without which Japan will find herself exhausted before long.

This seems a very short-sighted view. Why should France be a loser in a war which weakened Germany? Why should England go beyond the limits of her treaty with Japan, and increase a power which possible misunderstandings may turn against herself? And last and above all, why stick with unintelligent obstinacy to the crude idea that the Yellow Race ought to be altogether left out of the European concert because they are yellow? To go on treating the Japanese as barbarians is the acme of stupidity. And to imagine that their interest lies solely in an alliance with China is childish. That they have to think mostly of Asiatic Powers is evident—though the globe is much smaller than it used to be—but England is an Asiatic Power, and so is Russia, and who knows that in ten years Japan may not find herself nearer Russia than to any other Power? The Nationalists would be right if the European balance of power were the only thing to consider, but the gradual interference of Russia in European affairs, the increase of the military power of the United States and the wonderfully rapid civilizing of Japan, have substituted a world equilibrium instead. This primary political truth M. Delcassé had the misfortune of realizing too long before a large section of the press of this country. He may have to suffer for it, but then France will be a sufferer too.

There would be too much to say, if I wanted to give a fair account of our home politics in the last two months, especially if I endeavored fully to describe the slow progress of Disestablishment. Only six clauses of the Bill—which consists of over fifty—have been passed in a three months' debate, and it grows doubtful whether the Chamber will succeed in despatching the rest within

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the few weeks of the summer session. The clauses discussed so far concerned the disposal of Church property. It would appear at first sight that this property should go entirely, after the separation of Church and State, to its present and—to all intents and purposes—legitimate owners. But, in this country where political hair-splitters are always talking about liberty, matters are never arranged so simply. Supposing schisms to make their appearance in the Roman Catholic Church—the Radical orators argue—why should the law provide that the schismatic bodies shall have no claim to part of the property? If it did, would not religious liberty be disregarded? This reasoning had appeared futile to all the Chamber before Easter, and even M. Jaurés and M. Briand had branded it as a hypocritical way of depriving the Church of what is her own. During the Easter holidays a long and interesting controversy between M. Jaurés and M. Clémenceau disengaged from the clouds which had so far obscured it the principle that Disestablishment was desirable, not to return to Church and State their freedom with regard to each other, but merely to dispense the State from parting any longer with the eight million dollars' indemnity it paid annually to the Church. Consequently, as money is another word for independence, the first step to take was to reduce Church property as much as possible. On this principle the majority—without any interference on the part of M. Rouvier, who tolerates the policy of separation but does not care for it—has acted since the Easter recess, but, sitting after sitting, the indefatigable orator, M. Ribot, compels them to own they are continually belying their dearest theories, and the difficulty they find in dividing quibbles greatly retards the progress of the Bill.

P. S.—The resignation of M. Delcassé, which had been spoken of for a few hours as a necessity, is now a fact. The Minister was compelled to take this step by M. Rouvier and all the members of the Cabinet.

The Socialist and Nationalist papers exult. One of the latter puts the matter in a nutshell in the following terms: "Breaking with England means peace, with Germany it means war." I need not add anything to this statement.

It is a melancholy truth that M. Delcassé has been sacrificed to Germany.

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WASHINGTON, *June, 1905.*

OWING largely to the fact that Mr. Roosevelt's original intention to convoke the Fifty-ninth Congress in extra session is understood to have been abandoned definitely, public attention at the Federal capital has been diverted temporarily from internal affairs and concentrated on the President's foreign policy. Named in the order of their importance, the questions brought into the foreground of discussion since Mr. Roosevelt's return from his recreative tour and his resumption of the helm of administration, are the outcome of his well-conceived attempt to prevail upon the parties to the Far-Eastern War to enter into direct negotiations with a view to a speedy termination of the conflict; the decision at which the President may arrive with reference to the participation of the United States in the international conference proposed by the Sultan of Morocco; the response likely to be made to the petition of many Norwegian citizens of this republic that the independence of Norway may be officially recognized; and the course that may be taken to allay the resentment evinced in China at the offensively rigorous enforcement of the provisions of the Chinese Exclusion Act by American functionaries at ports of entry. There is, no doubt, a distinction to be drawn between what is technically known as a tender of good offices and the disinterested suggestion made by our Chief Magistrate, in the capacity of an impartial friend of both combatants, to the Foreign Offices of Tokio and St. Petersburg. During the war of the United States with Spain, it will be remembered that the French Republic proposed to employ its good offices for the arrangement of a peace, and that the proposal was accepted by the Madrid Government. In pursuance thereof, M. Jules Cambon, the French Ambassador at Washington, drew up, in conjunction with our Secretary of State, a protocol which formed the basis of the treaty subsequently concluded at Paris. Nothing of the kind was suggested in this instance by Mr. Roosevelt, and it is questionable whether, even if requested, he would have consented to assume the rôle of mediator, much less that of negotiator on behalf of one of the belligerents. All he did was to seize the opportunity, apparently afforded by the destruction of Rosjestvensky's fleet, to inform simultaneously and courteously both parties to the war that, in his judgment, it was for the interest of neutral Powers and of the civilized world that representatives of the belligerents

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should meet in conference, for the purpose of learning whether a further waste of blood and treasure might not be averted. Only with reference to the purely preliminary business of designating the time and place at which the conference might be held did he signify a willingness to officiate as an intermediary. The impartial good-will of such a demonstration could scarcely fail to be recognized, and recognition was not stinted so far as the conventional tenor of the replies was concerned. Although Japan, as the Power which, during the pending contest, has never encountered a reverse, might properly enough have answered that she is now, and always has been, ready to entertain a direct application for peace on the part of her opponent, the Tokio Government expressed to Mr. Roosevelt a keen appreciation of the benevolence of his motives, and assured him of its readiness to depute agents to confer with representatives of the Tsar, whenever it should have reason to believe that the St. Petersburg Government was sincerely desirous of bringing the war to a close. The Mikado would consent, it was added, to appoint plenipotentiaries to that end. The Russian response, however, was less straightforward and unequivocal, if we may judge from the account of it officially published in St. Petersburg by Count Lamsdorff, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Russia's consent to negotiate was conditioned, it seems, on her being convinced that peace was wished for by Japan, and the description of the former Power's negotiators as "plenipotentiaries" was qualified by the statement that they would not be authorized in advance to accept any proposal, but would simply be empowered to transmit Japan's suggestions for the gracious approval of the Tsar. This assumption of a high and mighty attitude on the part of a Government which, far from having been victorious, had been uniformly beaten, must have savored strongly of the ridiculous at Tokio, and the notion that an armistice would be granted in consideration of such ambiguous and inconclusive assurances was, of course, dismissed as inadmissible. Once burnt, twice shy. Credulity would be stupidity, in view of the ample experience of the shifty, double-faced and perfidious character of Russian diplomacy, acquired, not only by Japan, but by the United States, during the disillusionizing months which preceded the outbreak of hostilities. Apparently, the Grand-Ducal coterie, which still dominates the weak and vacillating Tsar, will have to be pulled from its high

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horse, and have the consciousness of its military impotence driven home to it before anything like an honest and adequate promise can be wrung from it.

Those observers, therefore, who are accustomed to forecast the future by the past, and who did not look for any speedy exhibition of common sense by the Russian reactionists, were sceptical as to the outcome of Mr. Roosevelt's well-meant appeal, until the sudden retirement of M. Delcassé, followed as it was by the accession of Premier Rouvier to the control of the French Foreign Office, brought to the surface a factor the weight of which was certain to be felt in the Tsar's inmost councils. In the most stolid and thick-headed of Grand Dukes, there is one keenly sensitive fibre, to wit, his money-nerve, and no one is so well qualified to touch it with electrifying effect as the practical head of the nation which, for a decade, has been Russia's almoner. When M. Rouvier let it be known that France was tired of playing the fool, and that, henceforth, her relations with the Tsar would be placed on a business footing, the Grand-Ducal practitioners of Muscovite bounce and buncombe were brought up with a round turn. If you want to dance any longer, M. Rouvier said in effect, it must be along the line of the Vistula, and not south of the Amur. We are tired of paying the piper for an ally who is fast sinking into impotence for an ally's service. If you wish for any more cash from France, bring what troops you have left under Linievitch back with all possible promptitude to the German frontier, and help us to restrain the German Kaiser, who is taking advantage of your willingness to exhaust your strength in Eastern Asia to upset our plans in Morocco to-day, and who may deal us a worse blow to-morrow. *There* is the force that really lies behind Mr. Roosevelt's suggestion, and there could be no greater mistake than to attribute the Tsar's unexpected tractability to the secret counsels of the German Emperor, who can have no possible interest in seeing Russia recover a fraction of her former influence in Continental Europe. To sum up the situation as it looks at the hour when we write, Russia, constrained by the knowledge that her paymaster means to tighten the purse-strings, may ultimately yield to the *vis major,* and accept such conditions of peace as Japan may see fit to dictate. Whether those terms are severe or relatively moderate will perhaps depend in large measure on the assurance that Japan may receive of England's disposition to

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transform her present carefully restricted league with Japan into an intimate offensive and defensive alliance. Such an alliance the Mikado's Government would be justified in regarding as a guarantee of the security of its new-won possessions on the Asiatic mainland, and it could consequently afford to permit the House of Romanoff to "save its face." That Russia will be obliged to pay a pecuniary indemnity may, however, be taken for granted, though it may fall materially short of the billion dollars lately spoken of at Tokio in semiofficial quarters. Much depends, nevertheless, on Russia's avoidance of unnecessary delay at this critical conjuncture. If she waits until the army under Linievitch has been pulverized or rendered almost useless, her alliance will cease to be of any tangible value to France, her chance of extracting any more money from Paris will vanish, and it would become a matter of vital moment to French statesmen to arrive quickly at a permanent understanding with the German Emperor. On the other hand, it would pay France well to lend Russia half a billion dollars to insure the prompt conclusion of peace, and thus render possible the immediate transfer of Linievitch's army from Manchuria to Russian Poland.

The position that Mr. Roosevelt may deem it expedient to take with reference to the question of Morocco depends obviously to some extent on the solution of the problem presented in the Far East. It is true that our commercial interest in the Shereefian dominions is actually insignificant, but that a prospective expansion of it was contemplated by our State Department is a fair inference from the fact that the United States were represented in the international conference held at Madrid in July, 1880, with regard to Morocco's exterior relations. The signatories of the treaty then concluded comprehended, besides the United States, Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Germany, Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark and Sweden and Norway. It is true that the primary object of the treaty was to protect the lives and property of foreigners in Morocco, but the compact contained a clause declaring that the Shereef conceded to every one of the Powers represented in the Madrid conference the right to the treatment of the "most favored nation." Now, there is no doubt that the recent treaty between France and Great Britain, to which Italy and Spain subsequently acceded, although it is understood to have assured to every Power represented in

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the Madrid conference equality of commercial privilege for *thirty years,* did seem to contemplate the ultimate assertion by France of a protectorate over the Shereefian possessions similar to that now exercised by Great Britain in Egypt, if not formally equivalent to the French absorption of Tunis. There is no doubt, therefore, that Count, now Prince, von Bülow was technically justified in advising his imperial master that the new Anglo-French agreement was not permanently reconcilable with the compact entered into at Madrid in 1880. Whether Emperor William will deem it worth while to insist that the Anglo-French agreement, by which a tutelary function in Morocco is conceded to France, shall be reviewed at the international conference, to which Sultan Mulai Abdul Aziz has invited all the Powers ostensibly concerned, is, as we have said, a question unlikely to be settled until the outcome of the effort to bring about peace in Eastern Asia is definitely known. Meanwhile Great Britain has refused, while Germany has accepted, the Sultan's invitation. What answer Mr. Roosevelt will return has not been announced, and we find it hard to believe that it has yet been resolved upon. Our present Chief Magistrate is too thoroughly conversant with the European situation to imagine that the naval preponderance of France and England over Germany would necessarily render abortive any endeavor on the part of William II to set aside the Anglo-French arrangement with relation to Morocco. If Russia is to be condemned by Grand-Ducal folly to bleed to death on the coast of the Pacific, the immense superiority of Germany's army to any other land force collectible against her in Europe would enable her to solve the problem of Morocco inside of the French frontier.

We have said that the President has been requested by Norwegian citizens of the United States to recognize the independence declared by the Storthing, or Parliament, of Norway. When we recall how slow we were to acknowledge the right to self-government even of those Spanish-American commonwealths which had made good their rebellion against Spain, we must see that it might be deemed officious if, by a hasty acknowledgment of Norwegian independence, we should seem to anticipate the action of Powers far more deeply interested in the matter, such Powers, for example, as Russia, which would like an ice-free port on the Norwegian coast; as Germany, which would look upon a

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united Scandinavia as a rampart against the westward trend of Muscovite ambition; and especially as Denmark, which has a prospect of giving a sovereign to independent Norway. There are other considerations which, naturally, would have a good deal of weight with Mr. Roosevelt. In view of the deplorable past, and with an eye to a conceivable, though, happily, improbable, future, the United States cannot afford to countenance the principle of secession. Neither would it be consistent for us to assume the rôle of encouraging or sanctioning political changes in Europe, seeing that we sternly forbid European Powers to foment or ratify political mutations in the Western Hemisphere. On the whole, we opine that Norway had better apply to Copenhagen, to Berlin, to London, or even to Stockholm before addressing itself to Washington for recognition. We may some day have troubles nearer home in Latin America, and it would scarcely be discreet or foresighted for Mr. Roosevelt to establish a precedent that might plague us.

No one who had the advantage of conversation with Mr. Wu Ting Fang, lately Chinese Minister at Washington, can be at a loss to understand the indignation expressed by Chinese merchants, students, travellers and literary men at the humiliation to which for years they have been subjected when seeking admission to this country. As long, however, as the complaints were confined for the most part to the Chinese literary class, the shoe did not pinch American business men. The case is otherwise, now that the commercial guilds of China have threatened to attest their resentment of our treatment of their fellow countrymen by boycotting American-made goods. Forthwith, American manufacturers and exporters experienced a change of heart, and on June 11 a delegation of the American Asiatic Association called at the White House to protest against the indiscriminate and exasperating enforcement of the Chinese Exclusion Law. We are glad to chronicle that, in a letter to Secretary Metcalf, of the Department of Commerce and Labor, the President promptly ordered him to see to it that from this time forward the immigration officers at our various ports of entry exercise more discretion than they have been accustomed to do in the application of the exclusion law, to the end that our relations with the Chinese Empire may retain the cordiality to which on many grounds we are entitled.

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